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272 276 behind and beside the kava bowl. The herald does not allot (*vota*) the kava, but the cup bearer decides to whom he will take it. There is no *yalofi;* anyone can sit at the sides. It is allowed to stretch the legs. There is no food offering.

The kava having been pounded beforehand and placed in the bowl, the kava maker tilts the bowl forward saying, "The measure is offered" (*sa sevu tu na i vakarau*).

272 533 276 The herald answers "Knead," using the Tongan word *palu* (in Fijian it would be *lomba*). The kava maker kneads, then strains the kava. When a certain point is reached the leader of the choir (*ndau ni vuthu*) begins to sing in a small, quavering voice; when he has sung two lines another joins him in a lower pitch; at the seventh line the whole choir comes in with a deep drone (*ndrungu*). The kava song (*meke ni yanggona*) was lost with the advent of the Tongans. The Matuku men are noted as singers of the kava song; failing them, the Levuka men sing.

The kava song in use in Lakemba is that known from the first words as *Mothemothe ni mbongi.* It comes from Thakaundrove. I obtained the text in Taveuni. The herald of Namata has published a version (11, p. 191, December, 1913; p. 185, 1894):

272 533 539 276

Mothemothe ni mbongi, ma singa othake,	Sleeping at night; the day dawns,
A singa ka sa tangga no i langi.	The sun is on the war path in the sky.
La ki thavu na yanggona me tholati.	They go and pull up the kava to bring it.
Mbiu koto i takari ni vale.	It is set down at the door of the house.
A solo ka sa mothe no i thake.	The strangers are sleeping at the upper end.
Soraki yanggona me na kari,	Offer up the kava that it may be scraped.
Tau ya no i mba ni langakali.	It rests against the branch of *langakali.*[6]
Tanoa au thavuta i langi.	I raise the bowl towards heaven.
Vakarau na yanggona, ma sevuraki,	The kava is prepared and prayed over;
Sevuraki ma kere tumbu i langi	Prayed over, and bubbles up heavenward.
La ki yana no vunilangi.[6]	Goes and seizes (?reaches) the horizon.
Mothemothe nggai singa na vanua;	Sleeping; then the day comes over the land.
Ma mbuthi i rara na lewe rua,	Call the pair
Me la ki thavu na mba ni kasa vula.	To go and pull up the branch of the white stem.
Ma mbiu koto i ra, nda kauta.	Put it down; let us carry it,
Tau ya no e mata ravi tuka.	It is set down before the door outside;
Au yandrayandra era there tu ya.	I awake; they are standing up.
Ru kathivi Andi yani i kumbuya.	They call mylady at the upper end of the house—
Sa singa rara na vanua.	It is broad daylight.
Me mbasu na waka me tou ngunuva.	Let the root be broken up that we may drink.
Ma lingia a kena wai mbulambula.	Then its living water is poured out;

[5] Na mata: Taveuni: *na ia na no na vanua.*
[6] *Vakatanggara e na kali; vakatanggara = vakatatava.*

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Na wai sevu ma kere savuya.

Sa kena kambisa koto ma na utha.
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.
A yanggona kau a laki thavuta,
Tara tu e ndua na matua.
Laveta onggo ka samu na vanua;

Laki mama na yanggona ravusa.
Wai liwaliwa ko lave tumbu ya,
Lingia i mbati ni tanoa.
Tonitoni ma e ndua na matua,
Ma thavuta thokothoko a vanua.
Na i mbo kau sa vakalutuma
Tiko sombu ru ombota malua.
Yanggona ni sau ka vala ni kua.

Me kua soti na vakasausa.
Thombota, era mundu vakandua.
Lose[7] oti na yanggona ru thombota.

Kena mbilo kau viri ki na longa.
Ra sa solota levu toka
Kothei ndina me na tu yanggona.
Rau nggai mbolea na marama sola:
Andi Ngganuya ma tu yanggona;
Senikumba lave wai ndroka.
Ondru there, ondru there malua
Ondru mai lave ki kumbu kandua

Tiko kina a sau ni vanua.
Matha oti mo ndru tiko malua.

Thombolaki yanggona ni yanua;
Kena i ombo e malausausa,
Vakambiu a mata ni vanua.

The water of the offering bubbles and splashes.
It is like the dropping of the rain.
It is like the dropping of the rain.
The kava I went to pull up
An old man touches.[8]
"I lift it here, and let the land be smitten"[9]
They go on to chew the dry kava.
Lift up the cold water,
Pour it on the side of the bowl.
An old man prays,
He mentions all the lands.
I drop the strainer.
They sit down, they clap gently.
The kava of the High Chief is to be made today;
Let there not be any noise.
They clap and cease together.
When the kava has been strained they clap.
I throw the cup on the mat.
They all dispute (?)
Who indeed shall be cup-bearer.
Then the two foreign ladies volunteer,
Lady Ngganuya is cup-bearer.
Senikumba carries the fresh water.
They rise, they rise slowly,
They raise it towards the other end of the house,
Where sits the Chief of the Land.
When the cup is drained they sit down slowly.
The kava of the land is clapped;
The clapping is loud and fast,
The herald bids them stop.

Each line is repeated once only. In singing this, as in other songs, vowels are supplied to fit the music as *taanoa*, for *tanoa*, *veanua* for *vanua*, *ravuosa* for *ravusa*; *thereatuya* for *theretuya*. This syllable *ya* is constantly added in songs at the end of a line to make it rhyme. In Mbauan style the last two syllables are dropped; in Thakaundrove they are dragged out. The dialect is largely Thakaundrove; some words are in the dialect of the north of Viti Levu. They go far afield for words so that the metre may be correct.

During the singing the herald cleans three cups: two for the chief, one for himself. At line two in the last stanza, he throws forward two cups according to the words of the song. The cup bearer, who has been seated at the rear, here steps into the ring from the right. He is called Tu Yang-

[7] *Nomata*, lose; *tareuwi* and Levuka, *matha*.

[8] Acknowledges the offering. The following line is the prayer, which in the old days used to contain the wish that the enemy might be destroyed (6, p. 62).

[9] The first prayer is said when the root has been presented; the second, when the water is being poured.

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arms bent forwards and upwards, then moving the body backwards and forwards while extending and bending the arms; 535

(7) In one dance in which they sang of hoisting the flag they went down on one knee and made gestures as if hoisting a flag;

(8) A common finish consists in going down on one knee facing the chief, with the club in one hand, extending the arms in the shape of a cross. There is always a noble youth among the dancers, he may be quite a boy, who shouts orders such as, "Break, turn." When the dance is over they all sit down, clap irregularly, then get up and go.

The technique of the poems is the same as for the sitting dance. The subject of one club dance was the Russo-Japanese war.

SITTING DANCE

At one time sitting dances were conducted only indoors, then two Tongans, Sunia and Toarau, from Rewa, went to Malolo, an island off the west coast of Viti Levu, where there was dancing all night out of doors; so the Tongans gave a sitting dance called the *vakamalolo*. 535 177

Now, however, the *vakamalolo* is usually performed indoors at night, occasionally on the Green. This dance has spread from Viti Levu to Vanua Mbalavu, to the Moala Islands and to Komo, which is connected with Kandavu. It is more popular with the young men of Levuka than with the Tumbou people. The Naiau people had a reputation for sitting dances. Three typical movements of the *vakamalolo* are shown by Krämer (9, vol. 2, figs. 127-9). As usual, the dance begins with an introduction during which the dancers sit with clasped hands. The man in the middle entones, closely followed by another man next to him, or near him, then the rest join in with a drone. Generally they are accompanied by a wooden drum which consists of a canoe shaped log with an oblong hollow in the middle about two inches long; an ordinary log may be used, or even a mat. The dancers are bare to the waist and wear leaves tied round their arms. 535

SNAKE DANCE

The snake dance is not Lakemban. I have heard of it being performed in Totoya at an official ceremony, and it is also known in Mualevu. I have seen it performed only by boys, one of whom had learned it from Kandavu, another from Naiau.

The choir sing over and over again in a monotone, rising one tone on the last syllable of each line: 533

Ndolo a ngata ni Mbalembale	The snake of Mbalembale is creeping.
Raviti tinamu tavalandelande.	Cuddle up to your mother, fractious child.

[539]

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533 The rhythm is:

— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —

535 While they sing, the dancers come in a long file, each holding the one in front by the waist and bending down; the foremost one holds his arms as if in the act of diving. They wind about for some time. Then the keeper of the snake comes in and beats the ground, whereat the snake falls down and the owner of the snake comes in, trying to look as absurd as possible: he is rubbed all over with sand and walks with legs akimbo. Sometimes there is a second owner. The owner comes up to the snake and kicks it saying, "Snake!" Then he inquires,

"Who has killed my snake?"

"I," says the keeper.

"Why have you killed my snake?"

"Because it damages the things planted in the middle of the village."

"What will you pay for my snake?"

"What about a pig in exchange?"

"What's the use of a pig in exchange for a long animal like this?"

"What about a brindled water-snake (*ndandakulathi*)?"

"Make one that I may see." Then the keeper hits the snake which comes to life and is called a brindled snake. It winds round the choir which sings:

[539]

Ndandakulathi e mbula koto	The brindled snake is alive,
E mbula koto e ruku ni vatu.	It is alive under the stone.

In Nakorosule, in the hills of Viti Levu, I was told that the dance was allegorical (*vaka i mbalembale*): the snake is the penis; "mother" stands for a girl towards which it straightway leaps.

COMIC DANCES

535
522 The *kuma* is called a dance, but it is really grimacing. The varieties include: the monkey skit, the Waitoa skit, the goat, the fowl, the mango stealing.

In the fowl skit the performer stands and chants slowly: *Kuma, kuma, ni toa, nda laki tatala a toa sirivisa vei a toa, ari kuma.* He then makes a noise by sucking in the lips several times trying to look funny and ends by crowing like a cock. The origin of the Kuma, as told by a boy, is as follows:

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First fruits are offered for yams, taro, and ripe plantains; not manioc nor sweet yams because they are despised food. It was considered low to eat before the first fruits had been taken to the Lord of Naiau. They are offered up in the usual way.

NAVIGATION

Large canoes were in olden times housed in sheds on the shore. In dragging them to the water the "chant of the canoe" (*tama ni wangga*) was sung to keep time, the man who entoned standing between the hull and the float and patting the sides of the hull singing:

Eie eie	
A mbimbi a vesi;	The Greenheart is heavy;
A wangga tambu ka thoka e.	The sacred canoe is being launched.
A i tipi ni koli i.	The dog's penis.

On the last syllable all pull.

The triangular sail consists of strips of specially made matting sewn together. It is tied between two long poles, the gaff and the boom; their meeting point, the tack, being called "the foot of the sail." The sail is hoisted by a halyard passing over the fork of the masthead, the halyard attached to the outrigger boom. The tack is placed against the ridge provided for it on the forward deck, the weight of the sail and the pressure of the wind helping to keep it in place. One halyard, the *save*, is attached to the boom. The one with which the sail is hoisted is called *i vakarewa*. (See Pl. III, *C*.)

Williams describes the manner of sailing (18, p. 85):

> I did not sail in a canoe. The canoe always sails with the outrigger to the wind; that side is spoken of as "above"; to leeward is "below." To tack, the canoe is turned around and the sail is pulled up and moved to the other end; hence tacking is described as pulling up (*thavu*).

The steering is done with a big steer oar tied between the hull and the float; it is moved from one end to the other in tacking. To put down the helm is *uli*, which is the general term for steering; to put it up, *tau*.

The points of the compass do not appear to be well defined. The southeast and thereabouts is called *theva;* it is the quarter from which the trade wind blows. North is now designated by *tokalau*, but this term is said to have extended formerly from north to east. Below, or to leeward is *ra*, a general term for west to north, as opposed to windward, above. Between *theva* and *ra* is *theva-ra*, the term said by some to extend between Naiau and Moala or between northwest and southwest. I have never heard it used of anything as far north as the northwest, for which quarter they

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use *vualiku*. An easterly wind is described as "wind from the sun" (*thangi a singa*) and anything to the east is "in the face of the sun" (*mai mata ni singa*).

Stars and Weather

The Tongans and the Levukans used to be Tui Naiau's navigators (*ndau soko*). They sailed by the stars, yet I could get very little information about them from one of the best informed of the Levukans and from one of the most talkative. Both informants say the stars had no names; sailors merely knew the places over which they stood. The only ones that had names are: Vola Singa, Mark of Day, probably Venus; Vola Mbongi, Mark of Night, in the middle of the night (the informants first said it was Jupiter then Saturn), sets over Nairai; Kalokalo Ndromu, Setting Star, a reddish planet which leads to Koro (this may have been a name for all planets); Iri Mbuli, Fan, the belt and sword of Orion, the sword being the handle. Taisoso, Bunch, the triangle of Taurus; Matandravu ni Sautu, Hearth of Plenty, and Matandravu ni Ndausinga, Hearth of Famine, are the Clouds of Magellan which are also known by their Tongan names Maafu Lele and Maafu Toka; Nga, Duck, is the Southern Cross, the pointers are a man preparing to throw a stone at it; Kato ni Mbulasi, Remnants Basket, a group of stars close to Orion's Belt in a line with it on the side opposite the sword; I do not know which group.

The spots in the moon are believed to be Tukai, Granddad, who is plaiting coir rope; and Mbui, Granny who is cooking their food.

Of old sailing was done at that time of the year when navigation was safe; during the hurricane months the canoes were beached. December and January are hurricane months; February rarely so; March is the worst so one man calls it the "month of spirits" because the waves and the winds devour men. A squall is called "the edge of the black cloud." If the wind shifts from the southeast to west or southwest by the north it will not remain long in that quarter, but will jump back suddenly to southeast. When becalmed the natives sing out.

> Quick, quick, quick; come quick, come quick;
> Come on board, on board on the outrigger side;
> It has come aboard, but it is little:
> Quick, quick, etc."

Canoes had pennants hoisted on the mast They were made of bark cloth, or of long and narrow matting. Two specimens of matting from Ongea now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum measure 1½ fathoms long and 2 inches broad; these are for small craft; for big craft they attained to 5

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for a race. Excepting the winner's prize, the things go to the craftsman who built the fence. The wives and sisters get the first batch of fish caught in the fence. 226

Line Fishing

Line fishing is indulged in by the men. Hermit crabs and *kaiki* crabs and small fish are used as bait.

Shark fishing is Tongan and is rarely practised nowadays. A bait is thrown overboard to attract the shark, to a Tongan song: *"Wili mai, wili mai, wili mai, malie"* (Come, come, come, well done). When the shark's fin appears the fishermen say, *"Ma anu* [bis] *ko'eku pele koe* [bis]" (Rise; you are my friend). The shark rises and the whole fin becomes visible. As he approaches to take the bait he is noosed and hauled aboard.

Young sharks are said to be born blind.

There is a kind of *sinu* plant called shark's *sinu*. It is the shark's bud; when the shark is born the *sinu* buds; it is closed so that the shark does not see at birth and is called *mbulumbulu* (closed-eyes). When the bud bursts the eyes of the young shark begin to see in the water. [825 834]

Octopus is caught on a line with a sinker, a Tongan method, no longer used. The sinker is a rounded cone, cut probably from a stalactite. A cowry is tied on the stone, a tail is made from a root of a coconut palm. This stone is trailed behind a canoe in which the fishermen paddle as fast as they can, jerking the line and singing, *"Lele feke, puli le feke"* (Run octopus, cowry octopus). The octopus mistakes the stone for a rat, and fastens onto it.

The enmity of the octopus for the rat is explained by the following tale:

The rat was once being conveyed across the sea by an octopus. As soon as the land was near the rat dropped dung on the head of the octopus and swam off. Since then the octopus hates the rat and always goes for it. The black stuff ejected by the octopus is the rat's dung. This is an ancient tale, a thing from the beginning. [539]

Fish Spearing

Fish spearing is also the work of the men. It is not practised much, at least on the south coast. The Fulanga men are the most skillful. The spears usually have three or four diverging prongs.

Sometimes parties go out to a deep pool surrounded by flats on which there are only a few inches of water at low tide and there gather a kind of black sea slug (*loli*), put them in baskets, mix with sand, and stir and rub them till the blood oozes out. They are then thrown into the hole. Then each man takes his stand on a stone and guards one of the channels. 226 228

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Naivi or Vatuwangga catch any it has to be cooked at Big House and from there it is distributed among the nobles.

Turtles are caught on land in the breeding season when they come to lay eggs in the sand at night. The experts go over to a small island, such as Vanua Masi, and watch at night. They tell the time when a turtle will come ashore, not, as in the Solomon Islands by the condition of the previous batch of eggs, but by the moon, which must be full. A Moala man says that whenever he watches for turtle a spirit (*timoni*) appears if there is any turtle; he sees a light; if he is not afraid there is no turtle, but if fear seizes him there is. A Tongan says that in Vanua Masi there are two cairns like truncated cones with the tops beautifully level. These cairns are solid, six feet high by eighteen inches broad. From these cairns comes a sound like a whistle, once if there is one turtle, twice if two. There is also a spring there called *rauraw mawi* because water may only be drawn with the left arm.

Turtle is also fished with big nets made of coir rope; the meshes are very large. The net is taken out in a canoe at night and extended in the water wherever they expect to find turtle. The turtle is then driven into the net. The chief fisherman is called *ndau*. These parties go out at the bidding of Roko Sau when some great festival or undertaking is forward. Turtle fishing is a very expensive thing for the chief, because every stage involves gifts. First when the canoe with its freight of turtle comes along the fishermen on board sing as they punt and blow the conch. The people in the village know, and inform the chief; they make preparations; the gifts are set apart with whale's teeth and kava; the feast is made ready, the expecting feast (*kena i waraki*). The conveyers of the turtle are coming; the song of victory runs:

Au sa mate e na liliwa;	I am perished with cold;
Tu me kei thei a tinatina?	For whom is the sow?

The meaning is they are cold and expect to have pig as a relish. A variant is:

Au sa mate e na ndolo;	I am dead with swimming;
Tu me kei thei a vakalolo?	For whom is the pudding?

Thus the fishermen sing what they desire that it may not be refused; they shout (*thimbi*) and stamp on the canoe. They land and tie a rope to each flipper to drag the turtle on its back to Big House. As they drag they shout: *"Vonu e tapate."* The turtle is then offered up in the usual style. That rope by which it was tied involves a gift for unloosening the rope (*i sere ni ndali*); it is presented on behalf of Roko Sau together with other whale's teeth "for piercing the eye" (*i thula ni mata*, a term which cannot be explained) and with kava as an "earnest" (*i sevusevu*). The fishermen then proceed to drink kava; when the feast is cooked and brought, the things they sang about form part of the feast; besides which the men go and eat food in the plantations without leave, and they root up kava; for turtle fishing is somewhat of a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga no*); it is an occasion for some measure of disorder.

Turtles are kept in small circle enclosures (*mbi*) made of stout sticks stuck in the sand below high water mark, until there is enough for a feast; it may be three months. The making of this enclosure involves gifts called *i viri ni mbi*. The enclosure is first made large enough for two or three turtles; if more are caught it means more gifts for the fisherman. There is one presentation called the breaking of the enclosure (*i mbasu ni mbi*). Many things the fishermen do to increase the gifts.

The green fat of the turtles is wrapped in leaves and baked; it is a choice bit.

Yawa Fishing in Mavana

In Mavana is a pond in which there is a fish called *yawa*, flat and as much as a cubit long. One name of the pond is "the *Dracaena* oven" (*lovo ninggoi*).

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526 A race (*rova*) was then held. The whole of Lakemba took part; there might be as many as three hundred runners, a custom still observed. When the new provincial cutter was brought to Lakemba the race started from a point about half to three quarters of a mile from Tumbou along the beach toward Tarukua; the ladies stood at the goal with bark cloth tied on sticks like flags. The runners are placed in several rows, each man pleasing himself except that none is allowed to stand too far in advance, and the man who won the last race is placed hindmost "to keep guard on the beach" (*vakatawa nuku*). One man stands about half way with a conch; when he blows the conch the signal is given: "Stamp once, stamp twice, stamp thrice, stamp four times, run." The man with the conch runs and blows as he runs; if the others catch him up he is trodden upon. Sometimes a man will hide in the bush and join in near the goal; in the old days if he was caught he was hit by the nobles; nowadays he is stamped upon, the common method of "ragging." While the men run the ladies wave their flags and sing:

● [539]

Ure, ure wi, urea.
Laki kau mai a i sulu loaloa,
A ondra i suai a ngone sokoa.
Ure, ure wi urea.
Laki kau mai a masi volavola.
A ondra i suai a ngone ni Tonga.

Shake, shake the plum tree, shake.
Bring the black cloth,
A rag for the sailor boys.
Shake, shake the plum tree, shake.
Bring the variegated tapa,
A rag for the boys from Tonga.

Another runs:

Niu lele ki Tonga, lele mai,
Tou sa veithoka, niu lele.

Coconut that crossed to Tonga, crossed back,
Let us cast spears, floating nut.

The man who gets in first is said to salute the race (*tamaka a rova*). A piece of bark cloth is wrapped round his legs, and is called "the burying of his legs" (*a i mbulu ni yavana*). If a man is present who does not belong to Lau the winner hands him the bark cloth, otherwise he keeps it. The remainder of the stuff is divided among the carpenters and the crew; these gifts are called *i rova*. Unlike the race for a new garden (p. 102), this race has no ulterior motive (*vakaimbalembale*), but is merely a matter of kinship.

501 [431] After a year or two the owners of the canoe again make gifts which are called the finishing of the canoe (*i vakaoti ni wangga*).

501 574 The Lauans made the *mbutambuta* and other feasts for the large canoes ordered by the Tongans and for small plank canoes, but for none did they make as big feasts as for canoes ordered by the Tui Naiau. The eating "for . . ." was held for small canoes if the owner could afford it.

501 Canoes known as "nets of the dead" did not remain long in Lakemba: they were taken to Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Tonga; some remained in

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Sugar-cane was grated and squeezed onto grated coconut; the grated coconut was then squeezed and the juice was boiled for a long time and stirred the while. In the meantime manioc and bananas were cooked in breadfruit leaves, then pounded; the sauce was sprinkled on the mash with a brush consisting of the folioles of a coconut leaf cut short and tied together. Then the men made the mash into pellets after dipping their hands in the sauce.

Dry *sivaro* is so called because there is little sauce and that thick.

Grate coconut fine, shred, put into the pot; add sugar-cane and boil; add water and grated coconut with sugar until it is dry; mix pellets of taro mash with the sauce.

A dish, *waisu*, possibly a Tongan concoction, is made with large plantains slit and stuffed with grated coconut.

Pekepeke, or "dipping," classed among puddings, is simply sweet yam dipped in coconut cream with each bite; it is the pudding of the lowborn, a pudding of the bush. The term is also used of a proper pudding in depreciation when offering it to a gentleman.

Tongans do not make many puddings, only *waisu*, *hoho*, and *ngoua*, this last a kind of mollusc called *veata*, in Fiji.

There is a story that a Tongan came to Fiji and tasted some puddings in Mbau. The taste pleased him and he said, "I shall go and make this pudding in my village that I may eat of it with my people." When he came to Tonga he told his people to grate coconut and boil taro. So the Tongans boiled it as he instructed.

When it was cooked the Tongans said, "How is it to be made?" Then he said, "I stayed in the house and it was brought in."

So they could not proceed. Hence when a man undertakes to do a thing and after starting finds he does not know how, they use this proverb, "I stayed in the house, and it was brought in."

Fermenting

Fermented food, excepting Tahitian chestnuts, have disappeared from Lau, as it is no longer necessary to lay in stocks of food.

Bananas and taro in olden times were heaped up in pits lined with leaves and covered over. There food was fermented, giving out a smell unendurable to Europeans. The stuff was taken out when required, cooked, and eaten. The taste is slightly sour. Such food was called *mandrai* from *mandra*, decayed; the word is now used also of European bread.

Fermented Tahitian chestnut was called *sikiviro*. In Kandavu the grated nut is allowed to ferment for two or three days in a wooden trough; it is then pressed into balls, wrapped in breadfruit leaves, and boiled.

Yams are never fermented.

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Of old everyone knew if a boy was born because the ladies sang a song called *thongge* (*thongge* is a bird that sits on a stone and cries *u, u*).

Ko thongge ni sa roaroa"	*Thongge* when it is morning flies
E vuka mai ka mai toka	hither and perches; its voice
Mai tekuru toka a ndomoua,	cooes, then drops and hums
Ka lutu ka ndengu: "*mm*";	"Mm," and the *thongge* laughs:
Ka ndrendre a thongge: 'e i ai i'.	*"E i ai i."*

There is no song for a girl. Nowadays there is no joking (*vakatasuasua*) at birth.

Both the mother and the child are rubbed with oil and turmeric powder that "the milk may smell it and be plentiful." Oiling the mother is no longer practiced, and so *kulakula*, a disease in which the skin turns red, is common. Candlenut is pressed on the child's lips to make it vomit, that the evil thing may come out which was in its inside when it was born, that it may be clean. It is fed with coconut juice: the coconut is baked, chewed, and the juice spat on to a clean piece of bark cloth and given to the child to suck. If the child wants to vomit they rub its lips with a China banana to make it vomit outright. When the mother has milk they set aside the coconut.

When the news is known ladies come in numbers to stay with the mother ten to twenty nights. This assembly is called *songone*. The father has to provide food for them daily.

At some time, it is not clear when, the father comes to kiss his child and rejoice over it. If the mother be a lady, bark cloth and as much as twenty or thirty mats are brought for her to lie upon. Of the two sides, father's and mother's, one provides the couch for the mother, the other for the child. On the day of the birth (occasionally a day or two after) both sides provide a big feast which is taken to the house where the mother is lying in. The assembly of women has the disposal of the feast. The father also makes a raw feast called *mba*, taro stems. Formerly they carried the baskets slung on muskets; nowadays on spades; these are called "the carrying sticks of the taro stems" and were given with the taro to the mother's side.

After four nights the women go to fish "to make free the nursing mother." Until that time all food from the sea is forbidden (p. 163). A big feast is then prepared called *isilisili ndravu*, which means "to wash away the ashes," or to "wash in ashes." The two sides hold a potlatch in which each side takes its gifts to the house of the other. This is called "dragging backwards and forwards" (*veiyarayaki*). Whatever the number of gifts brought from one side, the other will bring an equal amount.

[a] The word *roaroa* is not Lauan.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

LEGENDS AND HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

THITHIA ISLAND

773 Everyone agreed that there were two brothers in Vanandra, that the elder went to settle in Nasangalau, the younger in Navuaira. The descendants of the elder brother occupied the North, or Natokalau; one of his sons dwelt in Nasangalau, one in Nukunuku.

539 The following accounts are gathered in Lakemba:

Of old there were three chiefs in Lakemba: one in Nasangalau, one in Nukunuku, and one in Tumbou. Though none was subject, yet Nasangalau was chief. In those days a big fish of the kind called *sangga* was caught in Nasangalau. The head was taken ashore and the tail thrown away. They made an oven in Nasangalau. The god (*tupua*) of Tumbou went there and stole the head of the fish and brought it away. The people of Nasangalau ran after them to snatch it away. They seized it and hung it up in a house, and an old man kept watch over it. The god of Tumbou then went and deceived him, saying, "Those working at the oven ask that the head of the fish be brought to be baked."

The old man said, "It is hanging on the wall."

The god of Tumbou carried it off to Tumbou. The men of Nasangalau sent for the head.

The old man said, "It has been taken to the oven."

They said, "Who came and took it?"

The old man said, "A young man."

They knew immediately it was the god of Tumbou and ran after him. They reached Nambanggele which is the frontier of Tumbou and Nasangalau. The god of Tumbou said, "Let us stand on a mat."[a] If you come to my side I will kill you." So the men of Nasangalau came to a stand. The god brought the head of the fish, baked it, and when it was cooked said, "Men of Tumbou, come and eat: we are chiefs."

As soon as it was night the god of Nasangalau brought a big rock to block the passage of Nandawa in Tumbou; but the god of Tumbou went out and cut a stalk of a creeper and laid it across the path. The god of Nasangalau came and tripped, and stumbled, and the rock crushed him so that he died. Then the god of Tumbou took a big rock and went to close the passage in Nasangalau. That is why Nasangalau has nothing but reef and there is no passage. So Tumbou became the chief village and the heads of *sangga* fish were brought there to be baked. The name of Nasangalau was previously Naseuvou, but was changed on account of the fish.

In the days of old there was a Tui Lakemba when Kendekende was a village. The Tui Lakemba and the Randini Lakemba had a daughter Sinatelangi, a maiden whose breasts were growing. She remained in the house being forbidden the sunshine. The gentlemen made feasts for her and the ladies brought collations. On day Randini Lakemba gave orders that the ladies should go and fish in Nandawa. Randini Lakemba also put out the mats and cloth to sun. As they were setting out she said, "Sinatelangi, keep watch on these things spread outside. If you sleep rain might fall and they would get wet."

And Sinatelangi said, "No, you can go." But Sinatelangi got underneath a blanket and fell fast asleep, and a big rain came down and flooded the things, so that they floated down to the shore. The ladies were busy fishing. The things drifted away to Nandawa and the Randini Lakemba saw them. She gave orders to go ashore and they went up to Kendekende. Sinatelangi was sleeping on; so her mother struck her and drove away.

Then Sinatelangi was angry and wept, and went on and on to the shore, and follow-

[a] A kind of game?

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

ing it reached Waggatalatha. She picked up some coconuts and tied them together and she embarked on them and drifted away westwards. Her only food was coconuts. So she went on and on and Lakemba was far away; then the lady lay down. A big bird came flying and obscured the sun. She thought rain was going to fall, but she looked up and saw that this great bird was coming. She stood up and the great bird swooped down to devour her. Then this lady got up among the feathers and clung fast to it. The bird flew up and strove to eat the lady but could not; then glided down again. When she was over Leleuvia near Mbau and Sinatelangi saw a large wood, she resolved to jump, no matter if she were wounded, her one thought was to escape. She let go and fell right in the midst of the trees, and the branches were as a fence over here as she stood on the ground. The bird again attempted to reach this lady but could not, so he left her. Then the lady perceived that the bird was gone so she walked about and came to the beach and bathed. 539

Now in those days Mbau was the village of the men of Mbutoni and the men of Levuka; as for the nobles of Mbau they had their village on the mainland at Kumbuna. An old man of Levuka went to fish; his son was still a child and wanted to eat broiled fish; so they went to the island of Tomberua. They landed there and saw the footprints on the sand. The old man followed them and went up into the wood and found Sinatelangi there. She was like a ripe orange in hue, but he was dark skinned. When he saw her he thought she was a spirit and said, "Tou vakanamboro, tou vakanasama" (You stand there a spirit, we come as men).

The lady answered his words and said, "Tou vakanamboro, tou vakanasama" (You come as spirits, and I stand here human).

He said, "Whence do you come?"

"I come from Lakemba," she said.

Said the old man, "Where is Lakemba?"

Sinatelangi replied, "Towards the rising of the sun."

"Where is your canoe?" he asked.

"Coconuts were my canoe," she said, "I ran away in anger, and I went and tied coconuts together to embark upon. Then a *latui* came flying and perched on the coconuts which I was sailing on. I climbed on to the bird; it flew this away and came to perch here, and so I dropped off."

Then the old man said, "Let us go, eh!" So the father and the son conveyed her and went to Mbau. They resolved to hide her lest the nobles of Mbau should know and take her away. As they drew nigh to Mbau they lowered the sail and wrapped up the lady in it. It was dark. The old man admonished his son not to tell. He then carried the sail and took it into his house; he put it straight on the shelf. His wife asked, "Where is the fish basket?"

The old man said, "It is in the canoe."

"Why do you bring in the sail in such a hurry?"

"It's nothing," he said, "the rain is coming; it might get wet; go you and get the basket."

The old woman went to get the basket. The husband then climbed up to the shelf and untied the sail, so that the lady lay at ease in the sail; but he did not tell his wife about this lady. Then they ate, ate. When they had eaten he took what was left of the food and placed it on the shelf saying, "Here stands my cold food." The lady ate it. Thus he went on feeding her.

One day they caught a big fish in Mbau, a *sangga*, and ate it there and then. The children came and took the bones of the fish to make themselves bows. Then a woman of Levuka and her grandchild went to trade on the mainland at the village of Kumbuna; she was carrying a piece of that big fish by way of provisions. As they sat in the house of a nobleman the child cried with hunger, and the grandmother said, "What are you crying to eat?"

The child said, "Where is that fish of ours?"

The grandmother drew the fish from the basket and gave it to her child. As the

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

539 child was eating the nobleman saw the flesh of the fish and said, "What is this? The flesh of a fish or what?" He said to the woman, "What is your child eating?"

"Fish, sir."

"That is a big fish you have eaten, eh?" The woman wished to conceal the fact but could not. "What is that your grandchild has made a bow of?" The fish and the rib of the fish were brought to the nobleman. Then the nobleman said, "Heigh! but this is a big fish indeed you have eaten." The mother and child withdrew and the nobles of Kumbuna gathered together. They discussed and discussed. Then the chief said. "Let the Levukans be fined."

The envoy to Levuka went to tell them they were fined. The elders of Levuka decided to go and get stuff to pay their fine. The old man went to ask the lady from Lakemba, "How is your country? Can we go there?"

She said, "Yes."

Then the old man gathered the men of Mbutoni and the men of Levuka together and said, "Repair your canoes." The cabin was divided into two: in one room was Sinatelangi; the old man put her there in the morning early, wrapping her up in bark cloth that no one might see her. This part he called the holy (*tambu*) place for their god (*kalou*) to dwell in. "Let no one enter here," he said, "this is the room of the god (*kalou*) who is to guide us." As they went on their way the old man went to lean against the post next to the sacred part to ask Sinatelangi the way they should go. He kept saying it was their god; not one of them knew that it was a human being that abode in that part of the canoe; only the father and the son knew. They sailed on and came to Levuka in Ovalau and wished to make pots there; but this old man who was hiding the lady on board said, "Let us go to Koro." They arrived in Koro, and the men of Mbutoni said, "Mbau is far away. Let us stay here."

Then the old man asked, "Is your land near, lady, or not?"

She answered, "No, Lakemba is far away to the east." So they hoisted sail again to proceed, but the men of Mbutoni remained behind in Koro. The Levukans alone went and came to Somosomo in Taveuni.

They said, "Let us stay here that we may make pots here."

But the old man said, "Let us go to Lauthala."

"Well this is a mad old man," they said, "who bids us go on afar to Lauthala." They came to Lauthala and the old man went up the hill. As he stood there he saw Naitaumbe and saw Yathata. He said again, "Let us go and see the island that appears yonder." They sailed and came to Naitaumbe; then they sailed straight to Kanathea. The old man went to lift the curtain of the place where the lady lay and asked, "Is that your land yonder?"

The lady said, "No, Tui Lakemba's land is Thithia."

"Where is Thithia?" he asked.

"It lies beyond on the other side," she said. Thithia came in sight.

The old man went to her and said, "There is land in sight."

"That is the beginning of my land," she said, "that is Thithia."

The old man said, "Straight to that land to anchor there." They anchored and the crews went ashore; there were only two left on board, the old man and the lady. The old man went to uncover the lady.

"Yes," she said, "this is the land of the High Chief (*sau*) of Lakemba."

"Get up," said he, "and dress." She put on her skirt and they both landed and went straight to the house of the chief of that village. The wife of the chief of that village asked, "This lady is like the lady Ndi Sinatelangi?"

The old man said, "Yes, it is she." The women wept and mourned over her (*sapututaka*). The crews were in the village; they said, "Ho! some one has died."

But the villagers said, "No, the lady you have brought is being wept for."

"No, we have not come with any lady," they answered.

The villagers said, "Nay, the lady you have brought is the lady that was missing in Lakemba."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

"Well, he is a secretive old man," said the Levukans.

Then the people bestirred themselves and prepared a change of clothes, consisting 539
of a sheet of painted bark cloth a hundred fathoms long, and of coir string. Then they built a house and put the stuff inside to wait for the Levukans on their way back. The Levukans sailed on to Naiau; they prepared a change of clothes in Naiau and the stuff was shut up in a house. When they hoisted sail in Naiau the canoe on board which was Sinatelangi's went first. Now in their travels if a canoe anchored first in any island the men who manned it became the navigators (*ndau*) of that island. The canoe which had Sinatelangi on board anchored first in Lakemba, so the owners of the canoe are called Ndau ni Lakemba to the present day. They anchored in Navutoka. They resolved to go up to Kendekende. They blackened their faces and put on turbans. Now in Lakemba only the Sau could wear a turban by day, but common people[m] were allowed to wear a turban by night. As they were going up to Kendekende they passed some Lakembans who were tilling a taro field. "Who are these," they said, "that come with turbans on. Where are you gentlemen from?"

"From Mbau," they said.

"Where is Mbau?" said the Lakembans. They went up to Kendekende together. The father and mother of the young lady had been fasting all the time for sorrow. The Levukans said, "We have brought Sinatelangi," and the people of Kendekende rejoiced. This was reported to the Chief, and he looked up, and ate because his child was living. The people spread out a big sheet of painted cloth from the beach to Kendekende to be the path of Sinatelangi, that her feet should not touch the ground. The whole of Lakemba made a feast. "It is well," said Tui Lakemba, "Sinatelangi has been recovered; Sinatelangi is your wife, Levukans."

But the old man of Levuka said, "No she is not our wife, but she is our daughter. It is well if she marries that she should marry inside Lakemba."

"Yes, that is well." Then they sailed back to Mbau. They went to take on board the stuff in Naiau, went to take on board the stuff in Thithia. Then they sailed straight to Mbau; they brought this stuff as their fine. When they had paid their fine to Mbau they returned to Lakemba. They built their village in Navutoka and set up a temple called Navatanitawake after the temple in Mbau.

They heard there were islands to the windward and they went to Komo, Namuka, Fulanga, Ongea, and sailed right on to Vatoa, the furthest land known, for Ono was not then known. There they practiced a dance.

There was a hollow *etuevu* tree in which dwelt two spirits (*tevoro*,) the Matangi Women. The Levukans were practising their dance, and practising and practising. The two spirits peeped out to see. Every time they peeped out from the tree the dance went wrong, and they could not remember. Then the dancers said, "Sing, raise the song; tomorrow we shall go to Lakemba." They sang and the spirits peeped out, and it went wrong.

One old man was sitting at the door of their lodging plaiting coir string. As the shadow of the spirits came forth he saw them. When the old man saw them he got a rope and made it into a noose, and placed it beside the hollow bole, and said, "Go on, raise the song. If I say 'pull,' pull quickly." They raised the song, and the spirits peeped out. The old man said, "Pull," they pulled and noosed the spirits. The pair were bound fast. "Bring them and slay them," said the old man, "they made the dance go wrong."

The spirits entreated them, "Let us live." The Levukans said they would be spared if they became gods (*kalou*) of navigation to show them hidden lands. The spirits said they would ransom (*soro*) themselves by revealing Ono; so they were spared.

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[m]Unfortunately these words are translated in my notes. It is a good illustration of the importance of taking down in the vernacular: at that time I thought that *vanua*, land, simply meant the common people, and so translated it; if the original is here *vanua* it would be of great importance that the chief wears a turban by day, and the Tumbou side by night.

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Lakemba

●539 They lay bound in the canoe with their feet towards the bow and their heads towards the stern. So they sailed towards Ono, sailed towards Ono. Ono used to lie close to Vatoa, but as they drew near to Ono the women kicked at the land and it moved further off and disappeared. A second time they kicked at the land and it removed further. The old man who had caught them in Vatoa noticed this and said, "We shall not get to Ono unless they are turned round. Turn them round towards the stern." They were turned round and the canoe came to Ono. They anchored in Ono and danced there in the village of Matokana: it was a spear dance (*wesi*): the leader had a cock's feather in his hair. As they danced, they dug a tunnel which ended underneath the Green. The singers went to sing in the middle of the Green, while the dancers went underground and came out in the midst of the Green. Then the people of Ono said, "Heigh! the spirits have come forth from underground." Some of the Onoans fled but some stayed.

The Levukans then asked, "Is there another land?"

The two spirits said, "Tuvana above and Tuvana below." So they sailed to Tuvana and landed in Tuvana. The elders went ashore and only the children remained on board. The spirits then said, "Release us that we may teach you a dance."

Some of the children who were mature (*vukayalo*) said "No, do not release them." But the spirits entreated and were released. They climbed up the mast and began to sing at the masthead the following song:

Tuvana i tholo, Tuvana i ra,	Tuvana above, Tuvana below;
Ko Nasali Ka thoka mbamba,	Nasali lies across;
Ko Mburotu ru vuni tu nga.	Mburotu they are hiding.
Ṭinamu, tamamu.	Your father, your mother.

Then they stamped and the ship sank, the children perished, and the spirits flew away. To this day the children keep crying at the place where the canoe sank; their souls (*yaloudra*) cry. They are heard on a calm day. To this day when a Levuka child is impudent they say, "It is he who set free the goddesses." For the children of Levuka are impudent and it is no use talking to them. The rest of the Levukans returned to Lakemba where they live to the present day.

Some say Sinatelangi married into Levuka. The Levukans certainly exercised rights which resemble those of a sister's son.

The following account is given concerning the ancestors of the nobility:

Niumataiwalu, the ancestor of the present nobility, fell in love with Tarau, a captive girl in Totoya, so the chief of Totoya said, "Very well, climb a red coconut palm to wash away her Komoan nationality that she may become a Totoyan." So they brought a red coconut and washed her with the milk that she might be reckoned as the chief of Totoya's daughter. Then Niu married her.

Niumataiwalu was murdered in Ono at the instigation of the chief of Mbau who sent a whale's tooth made of stone to get the deed done. It was a cubit long and more precious than a real tooth. The whale's tooth and the club were presented to the Governor at the Great Council in 1880. As Niu was clubbed on the head his grandson was named The-broken-head, but as it is tapu to speak of the head of a nobleman, they altered it to The-forbidden-name.

When his eldest son was murdered his body was dragged to Navutoka and left there overnight. Next morning it was found covered with crabs of a kind called *lairo tui*. Since then no one in Katumbalevu is allowed to eat that kind. No spirit is embodied in it, but it is respected because it lay on Uluilakemba's body. Sharks are also tapu because they may have drunk his blood, but this tapu is not observed. There is a spring on that beach where it is tapu to bathe. Crafts passing the rock where he stood used to salute, "O, oa," and the women going by while fishing sang

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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"Ninggo." A woman of Naiau touched it as she swam past, and was eaten by a shark, for it was forbidden to touch it. 539

Niumataiwalu's son Rasolo lived sometime with the rest of the family in exile in Naiau, by a *rewa* tree, which is still pointed to at the present day. Hence they took the tribal name of Navuanirewa, the *rewa* fruit. Hence also such personal names as Vunirewa, Senirewa, Landuvunirewa. A spirit told them, "Instal a chief and call him Lord of Naiau." He was chosen in this way.

The nobles said, "It is well we should go and jump off at the place where stands the banyan tree. If one of us takes up the challenge he shall be our chief." Rasolo jumped and landed unhurt on a branch below. They let down a rope and hauled him up. Thus was Rasolo the first Lord of Naiau in Lakemba.

After Rasolo's death Uluilakemba's son Ndranivia snatched the chieftainship. He went to get the state basket (*katonitu*) in which the treasure (*iyau*) of the land was kept and entered Great House.

After the death of Rasolo the three sons of Rasolo discussed who should be High Chief. The third said to the second, "Be you High Chief, Soroanggali, since your mother is a woman of Lakemba; we are strangers here" [their mothers came from outside Lakemba].

But Soroanggali said, "No, I have plenty of kinsfolk here, and so am equal to the work. But if I am High Chief, you who have no kinsfolk here, cannot tell the people to do this or that, or they will say to you, 'You have no kinsfolk here.' But if you are High Chief and want anything I shall tell the people to do it." So the eldest of the three was made High Chief.

In the course of the civil wars once before an attack the nobles ate some fermented food, but did not give any to the people of Mothe as provisions of war. When hard pressed the nobles said to the men of Mothe, "Come here."

But the men of Mothe said, "Go on making fermented food with the livers of the Lakembans"; and would not fight.

The nobles moved from Tarukua to Mambula. The reason is as follows:

All the nobles were assembled once in Tarukua. They were building a house and about to set up a post. They waited for the chief of Mambula, Koli by name. They made some kava. As he did not come they decided to set up the post without him; so they poured kava at the foot of the post and prayed that Koli might die, for Koli was a man of valor, and slew men, and hung them up as a sign his coconuts were tapu. Koli then arrived bearing his club; he went to a rocky point and sat down with his club in his lap. He did not speak to them: some disease seized him and he went back to Mambula. Ratumaimbulu, a spirit (*tevoro*) was seated by the roadside, turning his back. As Koli went past, he jumped upon the spirit and, lifting his club, prepared to strike. Ratumaimbulu cried, "Let me live." Then Koli made a condition, "Let the pole on which the feast is carried be turned towards you and me," that is to say, "Let the nobles go to Mambula, leaving Tarukua." That is why the nobles moved to Tarukua. Koli's belly swelled up and by the time he reached Mambula the swelling extended to his neck and he died.

Once there was a great chief in Vatuvara called Tui Lau who had a house on the top of the hill. In the southeasterly monsoon he opened the south door to look out for canoes, and in the northwest season the north door.

KAMBARA ISLAND

The goddess of Nanggara was called Tapaso. If anyone fell ill and was taken to different gods in the hope of a cure she would say in Fijian with a Tongan accent, "*A tafa ka veikauyaki tu? Kau mai eici me lili me su molu*" (Why is he carried about; bring him here to be cooked till he is tender). A dog is the god of Nanggara.

There is a god called Tui Vakano. Kambara and Thekena are kinsfolk.

Ra Matao was an ancestor (*tu*) in Kambara, but only a man. He was a clever man. When he died four men carried him to Nuku or Onemato to bury him there,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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539 but he spoke from the bier and said, "I am going to be buried in the Great Cave." When they arrived at the Great Cave they wanted to bury him on this side, but he said, "Carry me as far as Wainiyambia." So they took him there and buried him.

Oloi is the *tautu* of Kambara. Oloi is not far from Suva. If the Kambarans go to Suva they go and take food in Oloi; the part of the Oloi people is to abuse them. The ancestor (*tu*) of Kambara, Mberewalaki by name, went down to Oloi to beg for earth to bring to Kambara. The stick he used to carry the baskets with was a *tesi* tree which he wanted to plant in Kambara so that it might grow there. He made one journey and went back for more. On his return the people were baking the earth which he had brought the first time. He saw the smoke from the reef. He was very angry at this and in his anger hurled his burden anyhow at the land so that the earth was heaped up at one place, so they called the place Toka. Taro and horse taro grow there. That is why Oloi and Kambara are *tautu*.

Another version says the cock crowed while he was out by the reef so he threw away the earth; still another that he pulled up the top of Oloi and planted it in Kambara.

523 The hill in Kambara where lies the earth brought by Mberewalaki is called Ndelaioloi. It is the only planting ground in Kambara. When the people of Kambara dig in order to plant, the water in Oloi is troubled, seeing which the people of Oloi say, "Kambara is a land of low fellows, of cannibal's meat."

ONO ISLAND

Tuiliku is said to have been a man but it is supposed he was a spirit.
539 This was in the days when Matokana was chief in Ono.

Tui Ono sailed to Tuvana, and the women and Tuiliku went there. After staying in Tuvana they prepared to return to Ono. Tui Ono told the women to stay in Tuvana. Tuiliku hearing this ran away to the bush. When the chief of Matokana knew that Tuiliku had run away he took the women on board and went home. Tuiliku remained alone. Night came, and as he was lying down to sleep spirits came and rolled him in the mud and threw him up in the air. At daybreak the spirits went home; at sunset they came again. Tuiliku wondered what he should do, so he thought of burying himself in the sand. When he had done so the spirits took each a stick and prodded the sand, and prodded Tuiliku; they took him to the sea and ducked him and threw him about till daylight. Tuiliku bethought him what he should do to save his life. When night came he thought of a device to hide: he climbed a coconut palm. The spirits came and looked for him in the earth, in the mud, then in the trees, and found him, and brought him down. They rolled him again till daylight and then went back to the bush. Tuiliku again pondered on some means of safety when Lingandua, also called Tutumatua, came along and said to Tuiliku, "What are you doing?"

Tuiliku said, "Sir, I am a dead man; the spirits torment me. Where are you going?"

Lingandua said, "I am going to Mburotu; why do you ask?"

Tuiliku said, "What if we went together?"

"If you can, let us go," said Lingandua.

"I shall try," said Tuiliku, "I can't stay in Tuvana." They both set out for Mburotu.

They followed a path to a reef which is still to be seen. Lingandua said, "Let us watch the breakers: three will come, one will be black, one white; when the red one comes let us jump into it." They jumped into the red breaker and found themselves inside a house in Mburotu. That house was full of women taken there by Lingandua.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Lingandua had told Tuiliku to get three *kura* fruits in Tuvana; he now said, "We shall be here three nights: the first day eat one *kura* fruit, the second eat another, and on the third day eat the third. Eat no Mburotu food, lest you die." At the end of three nights Lingandua told him they should go back to Tuvana. He took one coir coconut, one dwarf coconut, one red *Dracaena*, one king coconut, one red *sovisovi* plant: all these plants are now found in Tuvana. When they arrived in Tuvana the coconuts they planted there remained. Lingandua said, "I am going; go you to Ono. Don't go and tell of our journey; the day you tell you will find yourself in Mburotu." After a long time Tuiliku thought he would tell. He told his household to bring bark-cloth and mats and had them spread out. He then told them his journey to Mburotu. When the story was ended he died. So there were coconuts in Tuvana and from there they were brought to Ono.

The story of Tuiliku will be found in the Native Gazette (11, p. 164, 1894; p. 151, 1909).

NAIAU ISLAND

Many stories are told about the people of Naiau showing them to be simpletons (*uthe*). Foolishness seizes them at low tide. They fished in the woods; drove lizards, snakes, cockroaches into a cave which they then closed; they took spears, removed the stone, and speared the animals as they appeared: they saw water at the foot of a cliff and did not know what it was, so the men went to adorn themselves and came forward to leap. The people sang:

Ra tukutuku ndonga (bis);	They are making dye;
Ra ndrendre koto (bis);	They laugh as they lie;
Nda rika, nda rika.	Let us jump, let us jump.

Then one of the men jumped over the edge of the cliff and fell lying on his back, and exposing his teeth as he died; those above thought he was laughing. His whole body was red with blood which they took for dye. They did not know death; their minds were gone astray.

The descendants of Langone were granted by Taliai Tupou the privilege of eating turtle, because Langone warned Taliai that Ndranivia and his people were plotting to murder him. Langone was a descendant of Nggomo, who went to stay in Naiau. There was in Narothivo a chief called Tui Naiau; Nggomo wanted to transfer the title to Ndevo, but before he could do so he was killed. He had a wife in Lakemba of the Tumbou clan, who bore a son, Ndelailoa. The son conquered Naiau.

At Liku was a god called Sambasamba or Mami, a shark. His dwelling was in the shark cave on a promontory. Wanting to go sightseeing in Mbau, he embarked in the shape of a man. The Levuka people took him on board. They arrived in Mbau. The fishermen of Vutia near Rewa came to Mbau. He wanted to go with them to Rewa. He spent the night on shore; after dinner he said, "I want two boys to take me to the place where lives Tui Ndreketi's fisherman." Tui Ndreketi's fisherman was a big *ndambea* fish. "Why do you wish to go," they asked.

"Sightseeing," he said.

So two boys rowed him, one at the bow and one at the stern; Sambasamba sat in the middle. They rowed him to the place where the *ndambea* lived. Sambasamba put one leg into the water and it changed into a fin, then the other changed into a fin. He gave the boys some bark cloth called *tongo* as a return for their work. By that time his body had turned into a shark's up to the neck. He said, "You watch; when I fight the *ndambea*, if you see black blood it is the Westerner's blood; if it is red blood

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

539 it is the Lauan's." He dived into the cave of Ratu's fisherman. They fought; the *ndambea* was killed and black blood came up.

They said, "Ratu's fiserman is dead." Sambasamba missed his way coming back, and it is not known where he went. There is now a *ndambea* belonging to Tui Ndreketi, the child of the one that was killed.

A woman of Naiau was plaiting mats in the middle of the day; she put behind her ear the shell with which she slit the leaves. While she was working the tide went down; she wanted to eat shellfish so she went down to the sea. She found a *vuvu*, but she had nothing to eat with it. She was standing then with water up to her thighs. "I wish a *mami* were brought to eat with it," she said. A *mami* is a kind of banana. Now there was a god in Naiau called Mami, an ancestor god who was a shark. When Mami heard, he was angry, and came and swallowed her up. The old woman remained alive without a wound in the shark's inside. She remembered the shell she had stuck behind her ear, and with it cut the throat of the shark. In pain he swam and entered the Rewa river and got stranded in Notho. A woman came down, it may be to draw water, and saw the shark and went and told the village to take the shark and eat it. When they came to cut it up the woman spoke, so they cut the body where the human body ended, and brought out the woman. The woman and the shark were taken to the village and the shark was eaten.

The Lord of Notho married the woman and she bore him a child named Vu. He was a small boy that would not grow. The children were playing together; it was his habit to make them cry; he played the bully and hit them; there was not a big boy he did not overcome. They all however outgrew him; several generations succeeded each other and still it was his part to torment them. When he made a child cry they abused him saying, "You are not a native of this place; you are the son of a woman from the body of a shark." These words vexed Vu and he asked his mother.

She replied, "It is true, a shark ate me." The boy went and importuned the Lord of Notho with tears to build him a canoe, a canoe for the high seas. He then prepared his journey towards his mother's land. He drew water and kept it in a leaf of horse-taro, and tied it to the boom-attachment sticks. He then hoisted sail and set out alone, holding the sheet of the sail. He could not drink his water for when he tried to drink he stepped on the outrigger and the boom was submerged, so he had to withdraw. After one night he came and made land in Naiau. The stretch of beach where he made land was called Tuvukei. His boat was beach. In anger he threw on the beach the water that hung on the outrigger; that water still exists and is used for bathing and drinking.

The women came down to fish. They took him to the village, and he told them who he was and who was his mother, and so they knew this woman was still living. Then he told them how she had become the wife of Tui Notho. Great was their joy over him, and they prepared stuff and shipped it to Tui Notho. This is the reason why Notho and Naiau are *tauvu*. The Naiau people are indeed lords in Notho. If there is fermented food and a Naiau man is present no Notho man may touch it. It is the same if Notho people come to Naiau.

Another version calls the boy Vuvu and represents him as shipwrecked on Thithia. He there cut himself a mangrove branch and used it to swim to Naiau. He landed in Lawaki and therefore there are mangroves there to the present day. He carried his water-bottle about and hung it on a tree between Narothivo and Salia in Tuvukei.

The Notho people say the woman was taken to the temple in Notho and was then married to the chief. When Vuvu was born she became known as Tinaivuvu. Vuvu in sailing to Naiau tied his water-bottle in a leaf of horse-taro on the sheet of the sail above the outrigger. He several times

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

tried to drink but could not. Since then the Notho people never drink water at sea, or the sheet would break. This tapu held good till they became Christians. Of old they did not sail further than Kandavu and Nandronga. Vuvu poured out his water in Naiau: that is why there is plenty of horse-taro there. 539

VANUA VATU

There are many people in Vanua Vatu who trace their descent to Naiau. The following story is told:

The gods (*tevoro*) took counsel together to go and draw water for themselves; but the ancestor (*tupua*) of Naiau remained idle in this undertaking, and did not go to draw water. The ancestor of Vanua Vatu filled two bottles and hung them on a tree and went to dig a ditch for the water to stand in. As he was digging, the Naiau man went past. The Naiau man came and called, "Ah eh! let me have some water;" but the ancestor of Vanua Vatu did not hear as he was deaf, but bent over his digging. The Naiau man called again, "Eh! Let me have just a bottle." But again the man of Vanua Vatu did not hear. The Naiau man saw the ancestor of Vanua Vatu bending over his work, so he took both bottles and flew to Naiau. When the man of Vanua Vatu had finished digging and came to take the bottles to pour them out they were missing. He looked toward Naiau, and the ancestor of Naiau in his flight was halfway between Vanua Vatu and Naiau. He picked up a stone, and threw it and struck the bottles so that they broke, and some of the water dripped as far as Naiau. This is the reason why at the present day there are some small springs in Naiau. As for the stone it broke in two, and one half is in Naiau.

ONEATA ISLAND

In Maua is a cave called the Mosquito Cave, where lies a heap of conch shells. Of old, if a party of visitors came whose presence was not desired because food was short or for some other reason, the young men were sent to the cave to swing these conches; and as they swung them they said, "Let the mosquitoes come and bite the strangers." The visitors got bitten so that they fled.

Wakulikuli used the trees of Oneata to wipe himself after stool; for which reason all the trees in Oneata are crooked.

To the east of Oneata is an island called Loa and the top of a hill called Kendekende, which was formerly part of Oneata; but the god (*tupua*) of Oneata pulled them up to remove them. He was about to carry them away when the god of Mothe crowed like a cock; the god of Oneata thought day was dawning and dropped them. The spirit (*tevoro*) of Mothe saw what was going on, and wanted to stop it as he did not want Oneata to become big. Spirits do not work in the daytime. The places where the island and the hill top were pulled up are called Aithavuthavui Loa, and Aithavuthavui Kendekende (The-rooting-up-of-Loa; The-rooting-up-of-Kendekende).

Formerly there were no *lairo* crabs in Oneata. Those they now have come from Wainikeli in Tavenui. The people of Wainikeli waved them over to Oneata, and the women caught the crabs.

At one time it was tapu to drag a log along the beach across the frontier between Tarukua and Wathiwathi, for to do so would result in a fight.

The following legend is told about the island of Aiwa which formerly belonged to Tarukua.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

TARUKUA

539 The gods (*tupua*) of various places went to Kendekende to get water. They dug channels and brought it down to the villages. A god took water in a taro leaf and carried it and ran to Tarukua. As he ran the root of a *Casuarina* tree tripped him up so that he fell and spilt the water. He ran to the beach. There the god (*tupua*) of Wathiwathi met him and they argued about Aiwa. The god of Tarukua threw a stone at it and broke it and said to the god of Tui Wathiwathi, "Go and see; if it is broken it is mine." The god of Wathiwathi went to see: it was broken in two unequal pieces and the stone thrown by the god of Tarukua lies between them. The smaller half belongs to Wathiwathi the other to Tarukua.

Another version runs as follows:

There was a god of Levuka, and he used to go to Aiwa, as Aiwa was his land. In course of time he went there one day and the god of Tarukua went there. He said, "Where are you going?"

The god of Levuka said, "I am going to Aiwa."

And the god of Tarukua said, "It is not your land."

And they disputed. The god of Levuka kept saying, "It is mine, not yours." They argued and argued, then the god of Tarukua threw a stone at Aiwa which was broken, and the Tarukuan said, "Your end to leeward, and my end to windward." But the end which was Levuka's was given to Roko Sau.

823 In Nanduayalo on the beach below highwater mark stands a small rock called *vatu ni loka,* or tidal wave stone. If any one strikes it and breaks off a piece a tidal wave is said to follow. Women who go to fish sometimes strike it, being sceptical. The size has much decreased in consequence.

[During my stay there was a big tidal wave.] The people inquired, "Who has struck the tidal stone?" Now a woman of Fulanga who did not know the stone, had broken off a piece to get at a shell fish. She was afraid and said nothing, but some one knew of it. Emosi says the spirit of the stone is Tui Tarukua; another does not know; a third says, "Perhaps it has something to do with ancestor gods" (*ka vakaitupua lako*); a fourth says there is no spirit. Tui Tumbou says this and the "stuffing rock" (*vatu sososo*) have nothing to do with spirits (*tevoro*); they date from the beginning of the world; they are *tala tupua;* that is, they come from the origins. However, perhaps God is the spirit of it in that he made it miraculous like that.[28]

WAITAMBU

776 Waitambu is the seat of the Matangi Women. They are the goddesses
539 (*kalou*) of Rakuta and the chief gods of Waitambu.

They used to have a house in a place called Rakuta by a spring inland of the taro fields that lies on the main road. The land belongs to the descendants of the priests. Bubbles come up in that spring now in one place now in another. Under the bank an eel is said to lie; sometimes it is visible, and they take it up and place it on the ground; if they touch the body it lies like dead; if they touch the head, it turns and bites. Beside the spring stands a coconut palm which was in front of the door of the Matangi's house; next to it is a *mamba* tree which flowers; but the fruit dies in Mbulu,

[28] My boys once held a heated discussion, Keni refusing to believe that the stone caused tidal waves. Another argued, "If I am hit I am angry; and so it is with the stone." Keni retorted that the stone had no soul. Mosese admitted this, but contended that this was due to a spirit (*e mbaleta a tevoro*).

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

that is the home of the dead. The two women dislike for the fruits to appear in the world. There are also two *sese* trees which bear fruit. Their other trees which were used for necklaces, the *vono*, the *uthi*, and *nggori* trees are gone, but the *lemba* and red *Dracaena* remain. 776 539

The neighboring taro plantations contain the implements of the Matangi: mosquito nets, conch, board for beating cloth, latrine, spring where they wash away their menses; all these are merely the names of little patches of land; the two told the priest to give these names to the fields. Down by the shore below the old village is a broad flat stone which gives a hollow sound when struck: it is also called the cloth board of the Matangi. Another big stone is their mallet; their conch is a stone with a small hole in it, and their kava bowl is a hollow in the rock; and their kitchen is under the overhanging rock.

Inside the Matangi's house in Rakuta there used to hang a basket of food for the Matangi; if any one bumped his head against it, he became bald. Two conches lay on the floor facing each other; they used to be rubbed with oil; bark cloth anointed with turmeric and oil was spread out. If there was a war impending the priest went to see the conches; when he uncovered them they lept as high as the roof, clashed, and fell back into their places.

The Matangi Women are good for war, sickness, all things that men are in need of they bring to pass. It is said at reed-throwing they used to seize the reed and run with it, remaining invisible.

The Matangi Women are always in Waitambu and are called The Two Ladies (*ko i rau a marama*). The name of one is Taindomondomotha, of the other Taindomondomovinaka, Mother of Bad Desire, and Mother of Good Desire. They used to object to the children of Waitambu being called children because of their own two children one of which was called Vinaka (Good), the other Tha (Bad). Therefore Waitambu children were called mice; if any one was called child the Two Ladies came and killed it.

They still appear where the road goes through the taro fields. They appear to this day to young men as young and beautiful girls, to old men as old women. Luke of Rakuta, the grandson of a priest, sometimes hears them laugh and talk. They also appear embodied, one in a pigeon, the other in a duck, or both as pigeons or both as ducks. They are known by their being always in pairs. If any one is ill and they both appear he will not recover. Melaia says their ships are a black and a white crane; which is why the women out fishing when they see a crane cry out, "Hullo! the black bird" (*Vekaveka, a manu uli*), for *uli* in Tongan means black.

The spirit of Nggawaleka is called Ulupoko. It is a head without a body. It rolls about. He lives on a hillock and rolls into the village and makes a thundering noise as he comes. He is embodied in a white dog, as white as a tropical suit, and the tail stands in the middle of its back.

The connection of Waitambu with Mango is accounted for thus: It is said that if the Two Ladies dig taro fields in Mango the muddiness will reach unto Waitambu, to Rakuta, for the water goes underground and comes up in Waitambu with roots of the grass dug up. Even so if they dig taro fields in Waitambu the muddiness will reach right away to Mango. For there is one Holy Spring in Lakemba, and one in Mango, thus: Lakemban Waitambu and Mangoan Waitambu.

Vakano and Waitambu are *tauvu* to one another because of two stones.

A woman of Waitambu, a *tupua*, or ancestor goddess, met the *vu*, or ancestor god, of Vakano on the path between the two villages. She desired him, so they lay down and slept together. At dawn they turned into stone. The two rocks are still to be seen, one on the top of the other in Natuiniika, a gully near Waitambu. The rocks are known as Vatuveivavai or Pick-a-Back Rocks. Others make it a man of Waitambu and a woman of Vakano.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

823 778 In Tulaki stands a rock about 5½ feet high full of shallow holes. It is called *Vatu Sososo* (Stuffed Stone).

If a man is on his way to Nukunuku he folds up a leaf and puts it in one of the holes saying, "Stuffed stone, stuffed stone, when I get to Nukunuku may there be a pudding," or "greens." It is also invoked in fishing, crab hunting. Anything we wish to light upon." There is no spirit; the world was created and it was there.

NASANGALAU

824 789 Along the old path from Tumbou to Nasangalau are reeds known as of Tying Reeds (*Ngasau Mbukimbuki*). If the sun is near setting a man will sign (*yalova*) to the sun, then make a knot in a reed and hold it firmly in either hand, nor let it go till he reaches the village, in order that it may remain light till he gets home. It is an ancient tradition.

823 789 Lower down is the Pot Rest (*Sue ni Kuro*): where are three stones, placed like the stones that support a pot. A man will take three sticks and put one stick between each stone, like spokes of a wheel; he then lights them. When he gets to the village a pot is found ready cooked. This is also original (*e vu tale nga*); it existed when Lakemba arose. These things belong to Natokalau.

VAKANO

539 A long time ago there were many men in Vakano. Then a man of Vakano married a lady of Tumbou, but he would not sleep with her, but slept with other women. She was angry and went to Tumbou. The nobles then ordered the people of Vakano to dig a taro field. They came to Tumbou each carrying one Tahitian chestnut. They threw down their chestnuts, and the pile was higher than the post of the chief's house. When they had finished digging they came to receive the food prepared for them; but it was really a heap of stones covered with sails. Two women touched the heap and felt they were stones and one said, "Alack! alack! the bow of the canoe on which we must embark today." The club struck and the people were slaughtered; only those two escaped. They went and settled above Vatusososo, and kept avenging the massacre of their people by catching young children and baking them. Then they embarked to paddle over to Tuvutha, but they each paddled in opposite directions so that the canoe did not move. Then they carried their canoe to the marsh land where the taro fields of Vakano lie, and set it down, and they died there. That is their marsh land: in the daytime they dig holes and at night they go and pull up mature taro in Tumbou, Yandrana, and other places, plant it, and in the morning they light the oven. Their work is to make a year of the night.

A spirit once came from Thakaundrove and entered the temple of Nautuutu in Tumbou; he went and sat down on the god's bed, which is forbidden. He had a comb stuck in his hair the tip of which projected out of the opposite door. Tui Vakano, coming along, saw it and disliked it because it is forbidden to do so in the chief's house. Tui Vakano seized the tip of the comb and broke it in bits and ate it to grieve the spirit, then turned him out, ordering him not to come again to Lakemba. The god of Thakaundrove ran away; he had wanted to be chief in Lakemba.

The following story is also told:

The ancestor god of Moala came to Vakano and bound Tokairambe, the elder brother of Tui Vakano. He wanted Lakemba to be subject to Moala. Tokairambe

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

granted it; but Tui Vakano heard that Tokairambe was bound; so he went over to 539
Moala, to Vunindawa, bound the ancestor god of Moala, broke up his comb and drove him away. That is why Lakemba is not subject to Moala.

In times of drought the nobles of Tumbou formerly cut firewood and 752
took it to Vakano to be their entreaty-gift to Tui Vakano, that rain might fall.

They took it to the temple and prayed, "We have come. Grant that rain may fall. There is too much sunshine. Nothing prospers."

The priest shivered and answered, "Return, nobles of Tumbou, take horse-taro leaves as a protection for your heads." When they reached the gulley they cut a leaf and made an umbrella of it. When they were only half way to Tumbou the rain fell. They also cut firewood to get a fair wind.

Tui Vakano was embodied in a bird called *kaisevau*. If anyone threw a stone at a *kaisevau*, he fell ill and begged mercy of Tui Vakano.

LOMALOMA

There was a female spirit in Tuvutha. 539

Tutumatua was returning along the beach from fish spearing. The woman was bathing in a spring, and her clitoris floated down as far as the sea. Tutumatua looked down and saw it; he turned it over with the butt end of his spear, and said, "This is like a hair of something edible." He followed it up and found the woman in the water, and proposed they should lie together.

The woman said, "Very well, where shall we sleep? Go and pluck leaves of some tree on land to be our bed."

Tutumatua said, "It is too long. That only is certain which is quick." He was impatient, so they had connection in the water; but his private parts, his legs, and his whole body were engulfed in her and only his head was visible. Then he entreated, "Be gracious, lady, and let me live. My entreaty gift is that I shall not again come to the spring in Tuvutha." She stood up and he fell out. There are two places Tutumatua never goes: Tuvutha and Munia. If a man does not want to go to some place they say, "He is prodding with the end of his spear."

TOTOYA

In Vanua Vatu there is a white *kawakawa* fish. 825

It is the animal of the Two Goddesses, the "bagged fish" of the Matangi Women. They netted it in the sea and found a pool and put it in. There lives also the cooked prawn; their fish for roasting; it is ready cooked. If a man goes to sea he must take a priest with him or it will not appear. People who go to sea call out the *tama*, then sing, and the *kawakawa* and the prawn appear. It is forbidden to point at them or they will disappear. If we take the prawn into our hands it will melt; if we pour back the water in our hands there will be the prawn in the pool. There is also a snake known as the *ngata sivi*, the mother of the *kawakawa*. It cannot be touched. On the way to the place is a club, the club of Ravuravu.

MATUKU

In Levukaindaku are two red stones above high water mark: 823

They are flood stones. When the time comes to catch palolo in Ndaku the men of Nggalivanua come and hit the stone to prevent the netting, because no palolo are caught

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

823 on their side of the island, but the people of Ndaku bring them palolo in exchange for which the people of Nggalivanua have to give much. To prevent palolo being brought they hit the stone and a heavy sea ensues. There is also a heavy sea if a man of Raviravi walks on that beach, for they hate Raviravi people. One clan of landspeople in Levukaindaku are the gods (*cu*) or priests (*mbete*) of the stones: they cut leaves of any kind and lay them on the stones. In Christian times these stones were objected to so strongly that the people took them out to sea in two canoes and dumped them overboard, and returned to the land, but a big sea came which carried the stones back to their place and dashed the canoes to pieces on them.

776 There is a story of a *tevoro*, half man half spirit, who came over from Kandavu sailing in a pot. He set up his pot as a house on a hill and proceeded to eat up the inhabitants. His teeth were tied with a string to strengthen them. He was torn to pieces by the dog of a boy called Lasawalevu whom he tried to eat.

823 There is a place called Navatuloa which is also known as Matukundua (Matuku-once), because if a foreigner sets foot there he will go home and die. The people of old did not practice witchcraft; they simply took remnants of food and put them in Navatuloa.

ANIMAL TALES

538 There are a number of animal tales. They are referred to as "the Animal Tribe" (*ko ira a yavusa manumanu*). In these tales the names of the animals always appear with the polite prefix *ra* (sir), as Ra Vonu, "Sir Turtle."

The tale of Sir Turtle and Sir Monitor (*vokai*) is well known all over Fiji:

539 There was a turtle and a monitor. This animal, the monitor, and this fish, the turtle, have different homes: the home of the turtle is in the sea; the monitor's home is the dry land. One day the monitor was going down to the beach as the turtle was coming ashore. They met in a very nice spot. They had no sooner met when they both together saw a conch. When they saw this conch they agreed to walk as far as the place where lay the conch. As they were walking they talked together and each related the nature of his country. As they were discoursing, their discourse took a bad turn owing to some words used by the turtle to the monitor, saying, "You hill people, you are always eating vegetables; we sea-folk, we eat shell-fish, eat sea-weed and fish." Thereat the monitor was angry and proposed they should have a tug-of-war with the conch; he that got it, at the time of his death the conch should be blown that people might know Sir Turtle or Sir Monitor is dead. The turtle agreed. In tugging Sir Monitor clutched the lip of the conch with his claws, making those black stripes that are still to be seen. Sir Turtle inserted his penis deep on the other side which, since then, is streaked like a turtle's penis. Sir Turtle won. So the turtle carried off the conch to sea, and that is why the conch is blown when Sir Turtle dies.

Sir Rat and Sir Bat: Sir Rat had wings while Sir Bat went about with a staff. One day Sir Bat managed to steal Sir Rat's wings; Sir Rat seized the staff, which is now his tail.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

follows: the high chief, the high chief's herald, the oldest man, the chief of Kambara, the envoy to Lakemba, and so forth.

After the first round of kava, when all the members of the kava circle have drunk, the cup bearer returns to his seat behind the kava bowl, and claps two or three times. The herald decides when the second round shall be served. He says, "Fakatau" (Wring it out), and the ceremony is repeated.

All kava which has been prepared must be drunk. When the last bowl has been drunk the kava maker coils the strainer and claps on it three times. The members of the kava circle say, "Malo a vala yanggona" or "Vinaka a vala yanggona" (The kava is well made). The men sitting behind the bowl come and take it out. Then people in the kava circle may leave.

On Namuka kava songs (*meke ni yanggona*) are frequently sung during the kava ceremony. I was welcomed to the island by a kava ceremony. A cup bearer, dressed in ceremonial attire, served the kava. After the first cup had been filled at the kava bowl, he began a series of jerky movements, a sort of dance in time with the kava song which was being sung, and slowly arose facing me. He then walked to me and served me.

The kava song follows:

Mothemothe ni mbongi ka singa vaka,	Sleep at night till daylight,
Singa ka sa tangga nai langi,	The sun is up in the sky,
Laki thavu mai na yanggona me na kari,	Kava root is dug and scraped,
Ra tau ya no i mba ni langakali,	To be laid on the *langakali* branch,
Tanoa ka laveta i thake,	The bowl is lifted high,
Vakarau na yanggona sevuraki,	Prepare the kava to be refined,
Sevuraki ka kere tu i langi,	The sound reaches the sky,
Langi a nonova,	The heavens are watching,
Mothemothe nggai singa a vanua.	Sleep till daylight.
Kathivi andi ka laki kumbunya,	Call the lady who has gone to the other side,
Sa singa rarama na vanua.	For it is now daylight.
Mbasu na waka me tou nggunuva,	Break the kava root and let us drink here,
Livi na kena wai mbulambula,	The water poured in is quite clear,
Wai sevu ma kere savuya,	I can hear the sound of it again,
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.	Like the falling of gentle rain.

In southern Lau the kava *meke* is found only on Namuka but *meke* are often danced between rounds of kava.

A Tongan custom occasionally observed in Lau is the *wase ni yanggona* (kava feast). While the chief is drinking, a feast is prepared for him, usually by his younger brothers and parallel cousins. The food is served during the kava ceremony to the kava circle. When the food is ready the herald chooses two men from the circle to divide the feast. The young men sitting behind the bowl carry in the shares. The best share is given to the chief, the next to the herald, and so on according to the drinking order. The feast is eaten in the kava circle and the remaining food removed. Those sitting behind the bowl go outside to eat.

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Kambara

New *meke* are taught by the master dancer who is often the composer. Old *meke* are learned by imitation. There is no master dancer on Kambara. The newest forms on Kambara were learned from a man of Vungalei, Tailevu, who visited the island several years ago. Southern Lau is not a center of new dance forms. New forms are sometimes imported into southern Lau from Matuku, Taveuni, Kandavu, and Lakemba.

Meke learning provides entertainment for the whole village. Two or three months before an important event, such as the arrival of a chief, *meke* are practiced on the ceremonial ground almost every afternoon and, if the moon is bright, in the evening. The dance is repeated innumerable times until each individual has mastered every detail. The rehearsal is a social event attended by all women and children of the village. Girls and young women dance while older women watch and applaud. In Nggalinggali a rehearsal was interrupted by a middle-aged woman named Koro, who did a parody on the *meke* to the delight of the other women who laughed hilariously at her antics.

Old *meke* found in southern Lau are the war dance (*meke ni valu*), the sitting dance, and the fan dance, and on Namuka the kava dance (*meke ni yanggona*). These types are definitely Fijian. The old *meke* are composed in the *luve ni wai* idiom (p. 118) and their meaning is not clear to present-day natives.

WAR DANCES

There are two types of war dances (*meke ni valu*): the club dance (*meke ni malungu*) and the spear dance (*meke ni wesi*). They are distinguished by vigorous warlike movements and facial expressions. The dancers carry clubs or spears which they flourish menacingly, dancing and chanting at the same time. Around their waists they wear barkcloth and dance skirts made of strips of hibiscus bark dyed black, and around their necks wreaths. Their bodies are oiled and their faces blackened. The dance is accompanied by the *meke* drum.

A war dance recorded on Kambara follows:

Na wesi	Spear dance
Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,	Oh, sir rat,
Ka ulia na sivaro	Stir the pudding
Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka.	Sir pig is down.
Iri mbula, ra mbula,	Fan of life, sir life,
Iri mate, ra mate.	Fan of death, sir death.
Iri vakasanggalenggalo	The sinking fan
A iri mbula, ra mbula,	Oh, fan of life, sir life,
A iri mate, ra mate.	Oh, fan of death, sir death.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

SITTING DANCE

The sitting dance (*vakamalolo*) is the most popular dance form among the women. The dancers wear kilts of tapa and wreaths around their necks and wrists, and their bodies are oiled. They sit cross-legged in one or more rows facing the group for whom the *meke* is being given. The youngest girls sit at the ends of the rows. Suddenly one woman, chosen for her shrill, high voice, begins intoning the words of the *meke* and immediately the group gestures and the accompanying beat of the *meke* drum begins. The sitting dance is occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum.

A sitting dance recorded on Kambara follows:

Tandrua levu ka sa na thiri koto,	The double canoe is anchored there,
Au mbutuka na nuku ka lombolombo,	Where I landed the sand is soft,
Era vei talanoa, era nggoro	They were very much surprised
Wangga ni Mburotu ri ka sa na songgo	When we arrived in the Mburotu canoe
Uru tiko nai ndreke i na koro.	And anchored near the village.
Nai mboi ni yasi kula, yasi ndromo,	The scent of red sandalwood, golden sandalwood,
Nai mboi ni mamba tu na mothelolo,	The scent of *mamba* with *mothelolo*,
Nai mboi ni makita thuruoso	The scent of *makita* creeps into the village
Ka laki mbotea na loma ni koro.	And fills it with fragrance.

FAN DANCE

The fan dance (*meke iri*) is usually performed by women, each dancer holding a fan of pandanus decorated with streamers of dyed hibiscus bark. The fan accompanies the rythm of song and body in the sitting dances as well as in dances where the women stand or walk slowly to-and-fro. In the sitting dance it is often struck on the ground or against the palm of the hand. A fan dance chanted by Tatchini of Kambara follows:

Endua na thangi thava ukaya—endua na theve,	What wind is blowing—the southeasterly,
E liku so via noi mba ni vandra,	It shakes the boughs of the pandanus trees,
E mo thangera noi vuna a vuana,	The fruit has fallen to the ground,
E mbuku a sila kau royawa,	The sheet of the canoe is fast,
E *Ruve Kula* e mbale malua,	The *Red Pigeon* is heeling badly,
Na kenai sele u laki kauuta,	I take a knife to cut the rigging loose,
Mosi yaketenggu kau lualua,	My belly hurts and I vomit,
E ro mbalei ndaku ni vanua,	We sail around to the other side of the land.
Au via ndrondro ula au via.	
E vuka na manu mai wasawasa,	The birds are flying from the sea,
Kena iri kauthia vava,	Their wings fanning in the breeze,
Rasuka ki wai rambutuka vata,	They return to sea flying together,
Ramusuka ekere a thangi amba.	Soon they encounter bad weather.
Tangitha na ruve u laki vasuka,	The pigeon pledges the return of his comrades,

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E theie rei lala a ndrusa vuka,	He fears being alone,
E mangi au rai vakasungga,	So the pigeon decides to return and to stay,
Ulili ki muri u laki mbutuka,	Because the storm is gathering
Umasuka eke re a thangi mbula,	But alas, he is the only one to be saved.
I sa na mbula ae,	. . .
Rasamula kina ki sa na mbula e.	. . .

535 [242] Another dance type is the *scasea*, in which, according to the natives, women sometimes wear wigs of hibiscus bark dyed black, called *ulu mate* (dead head) or *ulu lasulasu* (false head).

[177] The natives say a Tongan dance called *lakalaka* has been introduced but is seldom seen in southern Lau unless the visit of a chief is expected. A dance called *tupaki*, possibly from Uvea, is performed with a paddle (*paki*) of *manu* or *vesi*.

MODERN DANCES

Modern *meke*, which are composed according to old patterns, are less figurative than the old. They reflect the changing scene of modern life. The following modern sitting dance was composed in Matuku and recorded on Kambara, where it is popular among the women:

[539]

Singa Monite ni sa na yakavi	On next Monday afternoon
Mai ndua manda na veivosaki,	We shall have an informal meeting,
Menda sa na mai vondo na landi,	We'll go out cruising in the launch,
Ndomo ni ndini ka sa na tatangi.	The engine will roar.
Ni mai rongotha, ni mai sarava	Come and listen and see
Na Andi Thilema soli katakata,	*Lady Thilema* speeding ahead,
Sa na vuso ruarua na mbambana.	The foam breaking on both sides.

535 522 Joking songs (*kuma*) are usually sung by clowns who accompany them with grotesque gestures and comical expressions. One type of *kuma* is the monkey dance (*meke ni nggele*) in which the performer imitates a monkey. The monkey dance is said to be recent in Lau.

[539]

Meke mate ko nggele,	Dance of the death of the monkey,
Meke mate ko nggele,	Dance of the death of the monkey,
Ko nggele, ko nggele!	Monkey, monkey!
(repeat)	

GAMES [2]

DART THROWING

52 A variation on the dart game (*teka* or *tika*) found in Polynesia and adjacent Melanesia was *tchingga*, formerly a popular game in southern Lau. The game consisted of throwing a reed or spear (*moto ni tchingga*) for distance along a permanent shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*). The ditches are seen today near old village sites. I examined a shallow ditch, 180 meters long

[2] Since many games in Lau form a part of the social ceremonial pattern games have been included in this section.

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and 5.5 meters wide called Wainikeli in east central Wangava. Low banks of earth on either side of the ditch were 50 cm. high.

Mosesi, an old man of Namuka who formerly lived on Wangava, had played *tchingga* in his youth. He gave the following account of the game:

Tchingga is an old game played by men. The *tchingga* ground was in or near the village. In olden times the court had a ditch but more recently the game was played without one. I have never seen a game played in a ditch. If the ditch was used the reeds flew farther because they hit the side wall, were knocked back into the ditch, and hit the wall again farther along. *Tchingga* games were held between clans, villages, and islands. The Namuka people played often with the Kambarans. When they wished to play they sent a group of men to Kambara to present kava and invite the people to participate in a game. A prize consisting of mats, coconut oil, tapa, or other property was decided upon. It was collected from both sides before the game and was kept by the chief until the game was over, when it was presented to the winners. When the Kambarans arrived on Namuka they offered kava to the hosts, and the Namukans presented a feast to them. Before the players started they had a kava ceremony either indoors or outside near the playground. If the game was held on Namuka, the Namuka men always threw the reeds first; if it was held on Kambara the Kambarans threw first. The player held his reed (*i tchingga*) between middle finger and thumb of his right hand and covered the pointed end of the reed with his index finger. With his left hand at about the height of his chin, he held the butt end of the reed between index finger and thumb. When ready to throw, his body started to move rhythmically and the girls, who were spectators, chanted the *tuki tchingga*. The Namuka girls chanted when the Namuka men threw and vice versa, as follows:

Moi tu ka tangane tha,	They have thrown the ugly man (reed),
A thava ko rairaitha rairaitha i ra?	Why is it so bad looking?
Thethe ki lekutu ka ramusu! . . . pei!	Gliding into the bush and breaking! . . . pei!

The last word, a short, explosive sound, was the signal for the player to throw his reed. During the chant a girl (occasionally two) who liked the player, stepped up to him and struck his upper arm and shoulder. She did this apparently for fun, but really because she wanted to touch the man. If no girl struck a man he was ashamed. Each side had a player called eye or face of the devil (*mata ni tchimoni*), who threw for luck first, but his throw did not count. If he did well his side knew it would play well. Next the best player in the last game threw. The rest of the players followed, and when they finished the players of the opposite side went through the same procedure. The man who threw his reed farthest was the winner. The winning reed had no name. If the Namukans won they would call out, "Sau e Na Ndrondro Levu!" (Na Ndrondro Levu is the name of a large passage which is always rough and therefore keeps enemies away from Namuka). If the Kambarans won they would call, "Sau e Lekutu Levu!" (Lekutu Levu is the name of the forefather god of Vuanikathu clan) or "Sau e Nggara Tambua!" (Nggara Tambua is the name of a sacred cave on Kambara.)

Intervillage, interclass, and interisland rivalry was expressed playfully through reed throwing. On Mothe the chief group and the land group played against each other.

On Lakemba the game is called *tingga*. Hocart (15, p. 91) says, "In serious play the reeds are tipped with a head of *toa* wood, a very hard and heavy wood, and thence called *ulutoa* which is the Tongan for a head of *toa* wood (ironwood). When thus tipped it is thrown higher and travels far. A loop of string is sometimes attached to the butt."

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presentation of a gift of atonement (*i soro*). The gift might be whales' teeth, land, or a woman.

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The following war tale was told by Moto of Undu:

The Undu people were at war with Tokalau and Lomatchi. The strongest man from Lomatchi, called Tute, was leading the Tokalau and Lomatchi men. The Undu people said, "If you who are related to us spear us, why not also spear the Tokalau people?" Then Tute turned and speared the strongest of the Tokalau men. Before he speared him he said, "Taipioloa" (I am going to be your enemy). All the rest of the men from Tokalau ran away.

RELIGION

CULT OF THE LAND PEOPLE

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There was a marked difference between the beliefs and practices of the land people and the chiefs' group in Lau. The land people retained their beliefs and individuality in spite of the dominance of the immigrants.

The most detailed information regarding the beliefs of the land people was obtained on Kambara. The land people of Kambara formerly believed they originated from the *ngingia* tree. They were the fruit of the *ngingia (vua ni ngingia)* and it was their forefather (*vu*). When the missionaries came they made fun of the land people for believing they were the fruit of the *ngingia* tree because this tree bears no fruit, but the land people insisted they were the fruit or offspring of the tree. Natives say there is only one *ngingia* tree on Kambara. The tree is called by the title Vu (Forefather). It grows near the beach north of Undu, the stronghold of the land people. It is kept free of underbrush and the men of Undu still offer ceremonial food and kava there in times of distress. The rite was last performed a few years ago when a severe drought threatened the island food supply.

Mosesi, a very old informant who was born on the recently deserted island of Wangava, said that the Wangava land people, who are closely related to the Kambara land people, originated in the *ngingia* tree just as the Kambarans did.

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The forefather of the Kambara land people is incarnated in the red shark (*nggio ndamundamu*). It is the *wanggawangga ni vu* (canoe or vessel of the forefather). The red shark is the guardian of the land people. Its title is Tui Natakala or Ratu. A member of this group may not kill, harm, or eat it. The red shark is still propitiated by the land people with offerings on the beach or on a canoe at sea and its appearance is considered a good omen.

The red rooster (*toa kula*) is the emblem of the Kambara land people, and it symbolizes power and strength. Its title is Kula. Formerly the land people were forbidden to kill or eat it.

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The following information regarding the origin of the land people was obtained on other islands visited.

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The land people believed not only in a local origin but also in a local abode of the dead (p. 116). 173

The natives say each hamlet of the land people had its own spiritual beings (*kalou vu*). The names of most of the hamlet gods have been lost, but the following information regarding them was obtained. When the hamlets consolidated into villages these gods became clan gods. 776

The hamlet god of Matasoata, Undu, was Tutumatua. He was never a man and he is now called a devil (*tevoro*). His sacred place was Nggara Loka, about 50 meters south of Undu at the base of the cliff.

The hamlet gods of Tonganiuthi, Undu, were two females called Iri Mbuli; they were spirits, not ghosts. Their god house was called Tonganiuthi.

The hamlet god of Nanggara, which was formerly associated with the Undu group but moved to the Nggalinggali group after the arrival of the immigrants, was Mberawalaki. He was never a man. Mberawalaki is called the forefather of Kambara, and Nanggara is the ranking clan of the land group on Kambara. Later Tapaso became the god of Nanggara. Tapaso came from Tonga and seems to have been a ghost.

Tonga of Undu tells the following tale about Tapaso:

A child was born into the Nanggara clan while the clan was living in a banana grove. The bananas were ripe, but the clan did not take the first fruits to the god. Instead they kept them for the birth feast of the child. Tapaso knew what they had done and said the child must die, and the child did die. The clan knew that the child had died because the people had not presented the first fruits to the god. The breadfruit was also ripe and the members of the clan met in a house to discuss the breadfruit. They did not want to take the first breadfruit to the god, so they cut only the lower ends of the fruit and gave them to him. Tapaso, however, knew that the first fruits of the breadfruit had not been brought to him. Some of the clan men decided to go sailing. Tapaso knew this also. He entered a shark, went to sea, and took one leg from each sailor because of their failure to bring him the breadfruit. The men on land knew that Tapaso was angry. They went to the god house and beat the priest, striking him on the head until blood flowed. The priest left the god house and went to the shore. When blood covered his eyes he bathed in the sea. The place in the lagoon where he bathed is now deep although it is near the shore. He came to another place and bathed again because blood covered his eyes. This place is also deep. He continued his journey, reached the village of Lomatchi and bathed again. Then he went to the bush, leaned against a tree and talked to himself. This place is called Numbaravi (Leaning Against a Tree). Then he went to the god house. 776 539

Another tale about Tapaso, recorded on Kambara, follows:

One day when Tapaso was very hungry he saw a mother carrying a child. He sang: "Sumolu a thava so ka vei kau yaki tou? Tawa kau mai mei, Sumolu" (What are you carrying there? Fix it for me, Sumolu). The child was given to him and he ate it.

On Fulanga the hamlet god of Nasava (formerly associated with Muanaira, now with the Muanaithake group) was Ronggoua or Ronggoniua. His sacred place was a god house called *mbure ni kalou Nasava*. 776

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769 778 618 species of natural phenomena, that is trees, fish, and birds. At least half of the clans studied claimed possession of three species: a species of fish, bird, and tree. The remainder of the clans claimed one or two species, or said they had forgotten their species. Each species was regarded as clan property, sacred to the owners and respected by members of other clans. The natives believed that the soul (*yalo*) of the clan ancestor god appeared in the form of a specific fish or bird of the species owned by the clan. Therefore members [262] of the clan must not harm a member of the clan species. Informants agree that eating one would be like eating one of themselves and would cause the person doing so to become ill and die. They must propitiate the incarnation with offerings of food and kava. It is difficult to obtain information concerning clan animals and plants because many customs concerning them are no [552] longer strictly observed. Moreover, there is a tabu on their names. The generic name of the species belonging to a clan may not be uttered by members of another clan in the presence of the owners. Formerly if a member of another clan mentioned the names of a clan's incarnations in the presence of the owners he was eaten by them. However, each clan species has a title which is not tabu.

The main forefather of the Vuanikathu clan on Kambara was Lekutu Levu (Big Bush), a war god, formerly worshipped by the clan priest in the temple called Nai Langa Mbakola. He was propitiated with human sacrifices in the form of *mbakola* (human bodies to be eaten), with kava and first fruits. Lekutu Levu was consulted by the priest before a clan raid. The Vuanikathu warriors, when threatening to attack a village, would sing:

[726 539]

Sa vura ko Lekutu Levu!	The people of Lekutu Levu are coming!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!

The god of the Vuanikathu clan was incarnated in the *mavinda (Erythrospermum polyandrum)* tree, the barracuda (*ongo*), and the *kaisevou* (a yellow-breasted bird). On Kambara the *mavinda* tree grows only at Longa Mavinda in the bush behind Naikeleanga on land belonging to the Vuanikathu clan. Vuanikathu keeps the land clear under the trees. The *mavinda* does not bear edible fruit but its fragrant flowers may not be picked or worn in wreaths. Even today a member of Vuanikathu may not catch or eat a barracuda. The clan members formerly prayed to the barracuda, not in the god house, but in the dwelling house. *Kaisevou* birds are caught by clan members, rubbed with a piece of barkcloth soaked in perfumed coconut oil and then released. The bird does not nest on Kambara today, but it occasionally comes from the neighboring island of Wangava, where it is common.

The forefather of Mbutonikoro clan of the chiefs' group on Mothe, according to the clan headman, was Ului Lakemba who came to the island six

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generations ago and founded the clan. The main gods of the clan, however, were those of the Vatuwangga clan at Lakemba from whom Ului Lakemba was descended (p. 38; table 2). The gods of Mbutonikoro were incarnated in the *thau* tree, the *kanathe* fish, and the *tchilio* bird. The slogan of the clan was "Kana kana kalou" (*kana*, food; *kalou*, god).

The chief priest on Mothe belonged to the Kamali clan. The foundation of the principal god house, located on the old Kamali hamlet site in west Mothe, may still be seen. It is surrounded by sweet smelling plants. It is still regarded as a sacred place, and as they approach it the Mothe people become silent and remove their turbans and ornaments. The god of Kamali was incarnated in the scaled shark (*nggio thave*), the *vivili*, and the *matamila* fish which were tabu to Kamali. Members of the clan think that the *kaisevou* bird, which is common on Mothe, used to be tabu also. The principal forefather of Kamali is not known but the clan genealogy is traced seven generations back to the priest Mirakilangi. Other priests in the clan pedigree are Malanamailangi, Wanggathiri, Ndolosambau, and Mbatchimalungu.

The main forefather of the Vunikoro clan on Fulanga was called Rokoratu. He built the fortified village of Unduundu. He was worshipped at Mbure Kalou Levu (The Great Temple), called also Mbure ni Kalou Rokoratu, which was located at the old fortress of Unduundu on the hill behind Muanaithake. He was incarnated in the *ulumburu* fish and the *sewa matua* fish which were formerly tabu to Vunikoro.

The chiefs' group believed that toward the west or northwest lay not only the land of their origin but also the abode of the dead (p. 118).

I have concluded from the above that in contrast with the land group the chief group did not possess true totems. They did, however, possess clan ancestor gods which were incarnated in species of natural phenomena.

THE PRIESTHOOD

A hereditary priesthood is associated with ancestor worship in Lau. It was apparently also introduced by the chiefs' group.

Informants say that in the old days the priests outranked the chiefs. According to tales this was so at the time of the Ndaunisai migration. The following tale, common in Lau, records the division of power between the priests and chiefs:

Nggileso, the chief priest, had two sons, Nggoma and Ndelaivungalei. Nggoma succeeded Nggileso and sent Ndelaivungalei to Naiau for mats to use in the god house. Ndelaivungalei secured the mats but he remained on Naiau and became chief. He had a son named Niumataiwalu and a daughter. Nggoma had two sons. When they reached maturity they were sent to their uncle on Naiau for mats. Nggoma's sons disliked Ndelaivungalei and on the way to Naiau they planned to kill him. They were received at Naiau, and the chief of Naiau asked them for ingredients for a pudding to eat at

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769 793 539 a feast to mark his daughter's nubility. They killed him and his daughter. At this time Niumataiwalu was at Vuna, not on Naiau. The chief of Vuna asked Niumataiwalu to carry a message to Mbau by canoe. He went to Mbau but did not go ashore with the message. At this time Andi ni Levuka, wife of the chief of Mbau, became pregnant by Niumataiwalu. She begged the chief to be allowed to go to Nairai in order to superintend the making of coconut oil. She landed in Nairai and Niumataiwalu proceeded in his canoe to Totoya, where he heard about the murder of his father and sister. The sons of Nggoma had returned to Lakemba. Niumataiwalu immediately returned to Naiau and became successor to his father. For revenge he went to Navutoka. He was met by his cousins. They fell upon each other and Nggoma and his family were killed. Now Niumataiwalu was by power and birth the successor to Nggoma, but he did not take the title of priest. He was the first *sau*, the chief of Lakemba, and the chief of Naiau.

(For a variant of this tale see Hennings, 12, pp. 33-37.)

769 793 After the coming of the chiefs' phratry, control was divided between the priests and the chiefs. Each ranking island had a principal priest clan. The title of the priest (*mbete*) descended by primogeniture from father to eldest son in the first-born line of the priest clan. The priests were the seers who directed the spiritual affairs of the group, while the chiefs were the war leaders. After the Tongan conquest and the introduction of Christianity, the power of the chiefs increased and the title of priest became honorary. First fruits were presented to the chief instead of to the priest. The priest of Mothe, who is the headman of Kamali clan, installs the chief of Mothe today. However, on Kambara and on Fulanga, the only islands visited besides Mothe where the island chief presides over more than one village, the chief is installed by the herald.

The priest had charge of the worship of a clan's ancestor gods (*kalou vu*). He was the intermediary for the people and the god. Since he was influential in securing mana from the god, he was feared and respected. He controlled the activities of the people in warfare, in times of famine, and in sickness, receiving offerings from the people and presenting them to the god according to the *sevusevu* ceremonial pattern (pp. 65-66).

[782] Offerings were made by the people to obtain mana which would insure the success of clan activities and avoid trouble. The principal offerings were first fruits, kava, and cooked feasts, including human sacrifices. As a small offering wreaths were presented.

The priest prayed to the god, who presently took possession of him and spoke through him or revealed his will to him by means of a sign or omen. According to Fison (8, pp. 166-167), when a priest was possessed his whole body shook in convulsions and his flesh twitched. After the ceremony the priest and his clan consumed the sacred offerings.

THE GOD HOUSE

769 778 346 Each priest had charge of a god house (*mbure kalou*), a sanctuary where the ancestor god was worshipped. It was a hut built on a high mound flanked

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jump, dance, and club one another. While in this state they receive mana in the form of inspiration from their guardians.

Each member is a specialist in some skill and has a guardian of his own whose name he bears. A creator of a new dance form receives them from the god of the dance (***meke***); a medicine man receives new medicines from the god of medicine. The membership of the cult is controlled by a god named Rayawa. When propitiated with kava, Rayawa reveals the names of new members. The man who discovers new members for the cult has Rayawa for his god.

The leader of the cult on each island is called the originator of the bamboo (***vunindavu***), for, as the oldest bamboo is surrounded by many shoots, so the leader is surrounded by many members. He has the strongest guardian and the most mana. Every new member must make a ceremonial offering of kava to the leader. If the leader is challenged, a contest is arranged during the Luve ni Wai rites and the member who is least vulnerable, and therefore has the most powerful god, wins and takes the leadership.

Native informants say that a Luve ni Wai member occasionally propitiates his guardian by leaving a bowl of kava in the bush. When he returns, not the next day perhaps but certainly after a few days, the kava has disappeared from the bowl.

Informants say that in olden days Luve ni Wai members had their own idiom which could not be understood by the people. These old ***meke*** (chants) are difficult to translate, but, when one examines them one sees that poetic license and figures of speech rather than actual vocabulary differences set them apart from modern ***meke***. However, many words which appear in the old ***meke*** cannot be translated by the natives today. The old Luve ni Wai ***meke*** are lyric poetry, highly subjective, in contrast to the more recent ones, which are definitely realistic.

The following ***meke***, which are not understood by present natives, are said to be in Luve ni Wai idiom:

Nai wau (club dance) chanted by Tatchini of Kambara

(Drum beats—small *lali ni meke* type)

Na vatu manawa, na vua i rama	The floating stones, the fruits of light
Yau talatala, vakaselotaki mana wangga	The murmuring breeze, welcoming the wonderful canoes
Tambu wangga ko ira na kai Mathuata,	Chiefly canoes, they are the people of Mathuata,
Laki kele sara i matamatana.	About to anchor at the mouth of the passage.

(Drum beats)

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Na wesi (spear dance) chanted by Tatchini of Kambara 575

Takiva na ika ni wai ndrondro,	They catch the fish in the current, 539
Kithoka na ika somi lolo,	They spear the fish at high tide,
Ndua a theva urea mo.	A southeast wind begins to blow.
E sa urea sa lutu koto.	When it blows there is no chance (to fish).
Raunama nongguo.	The fishermen turn homeward.
Kena wai tambu nda vakarorongo,	The sea becomes still,
E tumbu a tha kau nggai ndrondro.	Then it swells as I go back (to the beach).
E ruru a tha kau sunggai koto.	So I go home and the storm abates.
Koi au a wai vuni rongorongo.	I listen to the secret of the sea.

Volau, a ***meke*** master of Namuka, creates new dances of the following 575
types: ***seasea***, ***vakamalolo***, ***meke ni malungu*** (club dance), and ***meke iri*** (fan dance). He was born on Oneata and his father was born on Matuku, which, according to the natives, is a ***meke*** making center. When the people of Namuka want a new ***meke*** they present kava to Volau. He accepts the kava and in the evening it is prepared. On the first or the second evening, while he is drinking kava, the god comes to him and he expresses the words, the rhythm, and the movements of a ***meke***. He teaches it to the people, who must learn it quickly because Volau forgets it immediately.

ECONOMIC LIFE

PROPERTY

Land Scarcity

Scarcity of fertile soil is a basic factor in the economic life of the south- 311
ern Lau Islands. On the limestone islands the supply of garden land is fixed and limited. Practically all the garden land that can be profitably cultivated is in use. On the volcanic islands, the supply of fertile land exceeds the demand.

On Kambara all the best land (***nggele ntchina***, true soil) and some of the 241
second grade land has been cleared and is used for gardens. In years of 311
normal rainfall the supply of garden produce remains more or less constant, and garden production is only slightly below the needs of the population. New land is rarely cleared because the natives think it will not repay the effort. They believe that extensive cultivation of more second grade land might increase production somewhat in years of normal rainfall, but that in dry years there would be a shortage of food regardless of how much land was under cultivation. They think that more intensive cultivation, by native methods, of the land already cleared would increase the yield sufficiently to 241
supply their needs in normal years with less labor and more profit. However, 311
several factors work against intensive cultivation. First, the dislike which the 461
nobles feel toward work on the land has had an effect upon the whole popula-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

lighter, and less finished than sailing canoes. They are built quickly without ceremony unless the owner wishes to have a small race (*rova*) at the launching.

There are two types of paddling canoes in Lau, the *velovelo* and the *wangga vothe*. The single dugout type called *velovelo* is not often seen. It is more suited to river than to lagoon use. One at Undu, Kambara, consisted of a dugout of *makota* about 6 meters long cut according to the usual canoe hull pattern. It had low washstrakes resembling stringers, 3 primary and 2 secondary booms crossed by 4 stringers, and a short float joined to the booms by 6 pairs of stick connectives, 2 pairs to each primary boom. This type of canoe is used on the rivers of Viti Levu and called *takia*, according to Hornell (16, pp. 304-306).

The built-up dugout type of paddling canoe, called *wangga vothe*, is common in Lau. One in use on Fulanga consisted of a dugout of *makota* 5.75 meters long, washstrakes 15 cm. high, 3 booms, 3 stringers, and a float joined as in the *velovelo*. This type of canoe is called *wangga vakatau* on Viti Levu, according to Hornell (16, pp. 306-307).

DOUBLE CANOES

Sauthoko

The construction of a large, double canoe of the type called *sauthoko* took at least two years and involved elaborate feasts and ceremonies. Only a chief could command the resources and labor necessary to build one. When a Lauan high chief wanted a double canoe built he sent instructions and property to his carpenter on Kambara or another one of the timber islands in southern Lau. The carpenter had charge of the construction of the canoe, and he selected the timber and picked his assistants. A large trunk of greenheart was used for the large canoe, *mbau* for the small one. On the day of felling the tree a great feast called *mangitchi ni vaka mbale* was held in the bush. The series of feasts were *mangitchi ni vanua* (feasts of the land) provided as tribute to the chief by the people of the island. In construction the *sauthoko* resembled a very large *thamakathu* with a small canoe of the same type used instead of a float. The hull was shaped, turned, and hollowed as a sailing canoe is today, except that more labor was involved. The work was done with stone adzes. To hollow the hull first a heavy adz (*vula ono*) was used, then a short handled, thick adz (*i kotchi*), then a lighter adz (*valevatu*). The finishing was done with an adz which could be turned on the haft.

While hauling the hull to the shore the men sang rhythmically:

Unga e! Unga e!	Land crab e! Land crab e!
E nggasi ki sau na ko unga	Land crab crawls like an old man
Unga e! Unga e!	Land crab e! Land crab e!

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER I

A HAZARDOUS WORLD

KAMBARA, A FAMINE ISLE

A mate na rawarawa 539
Me mbula—na ka ni thava?
A mate na thenggu.

Death is easy.
Of what use is life?
To die is rest.

Fijian proverb.

SILHOUETTED against the sky, Kambara presents the 133
long, low outline of a basin-shaped limestone island, about 4½ miles long by 3½ miles wide. It is broken at the north-west by a volcanic hill. From the summit of this hill, one sees a world of sky, sea and forest. Below lies the dark green ghoulish jungle, stretching to the edge of the island. It is encircled by a turquoise lagoon, which is framed with a pink and purple coral reef fringed by dazzling white surf. Beyond lies the deep blue sea.

Here and there along the shore are sandy flats covered with 133
coconut groves and brush, and on these flats are situated four 361
villages: Tokalau, Lomatchi, Undu and Tanggu (officially [311]
designated Nggalinggali). Tokalau and Lomatchi, half-a-mile apart on the west side of the island, communicate easily along the beach on foot, as do Tanggu and Undu, a mile apart on the east side. Contact is more difficult between the two sides of the island, separated by the rough and thickly forested limestone basin. It can be effected through the bush on two [487]
rough narrow trails, or around the island by canoe, and also at low tide on foot. The two sides of the island are separated not only by physical barriers but also by invisible ones, for [776]
the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently hostile and malicious.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

266 When one considers the limited food resources of these
727 islands in the past, it seems small wonder that cannibalism was common. The motive behind most of the cannibalism in Lau, however, seems to have been revenge. After a successful raid the bodies of captured enemies were trussed like pigs and steamed in large earth ovens used especially for this pur-
[578] pose. The bodies were called *mbakola,* a term still used to inflict the most deadly of insults. They were presented with other food to the war god at the temple and later consumed by men, women and children as part of the victory feast. Informants say that there is no act more humiliating to the relatives of a fallen enemy than the consumption of his flesh by the victors.

241 The food resources of the famine isles have been increased
177 considerably with the introduction of food plants in recent times. Tapioca and sweet potato have supplemented jungle roots, nuts, leaves and fruit as staples on Kambara, and within the memory of aged informants the people have changed from warlike food collectors to peaceful gardeners.

539 BUSHY-HAIRED BROWN NATIVES

"The guardians of the mountains sing on,
The calves of their legs are like shaddocks,
Their red turbans are the color of blood,
Like the fruit of the *vutore* tree floating down a river."

From a Fijian song.[3]

142 THE most striking physical feature of the Lauans, as of other
302 Fijians, is their black frizzly hair which stands up on end six or eight inches from the scalp. In the past, young warriors proudly nurtured their "big heads" which stood out almost a foot. The hair is a very important part of one's physical appearance in Lau, and more time is devoted to it than to any other part of the body. Coarse, stiff, well groomed hair

[3] Basil Thompson, *The Fijians,* London, 1908, p. 130.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

539 THE COMING OF THE CANNIBALS

"Sa vura ko Lekutu Levu!
Toko luvemu,
Toko luvemu!"

"The people of Lekutu Levu are coming!
Hide your children,
Hide your children!"
Ancient war cry from Kambara.

174 How long have these tiny islands been populated and whence came the inhabitants?[5] Fiji was discovered by Tasman in 1643, and records of early voyagers indicate that although there were then two or three times as many Fijians as there are today,[6] they were essentially the same racial type. The natives were fierce, warlike cannibals. Like the inhabitants of all the islands of the great Pacific east of the Malay archipelago, they were living in the stone age. Since they had no written language their traditions and memories of the past were transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation. Hence we have only their lore, their way of life, and their archaeology on which to reconstruct their history.

The story of the peopling of these islands is a part of the story of the peopling of Oceania, which has not yet been completely unraveled. We do know, however, that the early inhabitants of the Pacific came from southeastern Asia and reached their island homes by sailing the open sea in large outrigger canoes. We also know that Polynesia was the last large area in the world to be settled, and that the earliest inhabitants must have reached the main Polynesian islands more than a thousand years ago.[7] Moreover, at least part of one

[5] For source material on this chapter see L. Thompson, "The Culture History of the Lau islands, Fiji," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 40, 1938, pp. 181-198.

[161] [6] There are 97,651 natives in Fiji, according to the 1936 census. (Census report, Fiji, 1936.)

[7] Peter Buck, *Vikings of the Sunrise*, New York, 1938, p. 64.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau QQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER II

HOW A FIJIAN GROWS UP

A FIJIAN IS BORN

Endua na thangi thava ukaya—endua na theve, 539
E liku so via noi mba ni vandra,
E mo thangera noi vuna a vuana . . .

What wind is blowing—the southeasterly,
It shakes the boughs of the pandanus trees,
The fruit is falling to the ground . . .

From an ancient fan dance, Kambara.

HOW DOES an infant born on one of these islands today grow up into a Lauan? What influences condition his development? How is he inducted into the social group? Since one cannot understand an individual without knowing his background, this chapter will be devoted to the birth, growth, and development of a Lauan into adulthood as this process takes place today in the southern islands.

Like most pre-literate peoples the Fijians in the past had no very formal system of education. Children learned by imitation, play, experiment, and apprenticeship, to adjust themselves to their particular natural and social environment. There has been little essential change in the process of growing up in Lau today. Children still learn chiefly by imitation and experiment. They are, however, required to attend the village school which was introduced by the missionaries. Here they are taught to read and write the Mbauan language and to do simple arithmetic by a native pastor-teacher trained in a mission school, or by a village teacher trained in a government school. The system of native education introduced by

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

852 431 602 [854] mother's clans. The property is divided between the relatives, and the child's parents receive no share. On this day[1] the child is bathed in the sea for the first time.

539 ## CHILDHOOD ON KAMBARA

Mothe, mothe, ko yandra, yandra,
Vuka mai na lupe ni wasa,
Ke lupe ndina, ke mothe manda-e.

Sleep, sleep, and wake, wake,
The dove of the waves comes flying.
If he is a true dove he will sleep-*e*.

Lauan lullaby.

854 593 For the first year the mother and child live in a predominately feminine world. Since the father's work takes him to the gardens, the bush and the reef during the day, and to the earth oven in the late afternoon, and since he sleeps in another house at night, he sees the mother and child only at the evening meal and occasionally during the day. Throughout the nursing period, which lasts about one year, the father's chief rôle in the cooperative enterprise of parenthood is the provision of food. He takes little part in the baby's life until the child is old enough to run. If the father does pick the child up he carries him in his arms or on his back, never in a sling, which is used only by women. One is more likely to see the grandfather than the father with the infant on his lap. The father, however, is proud of the child, especially if he is the first born.

854 462 [462] During the nursing period the mother has practically nothing to do except care for and play with the infant. She is relieved of her usual tasks, such as fishing, gathering greens, and tending the kitchen fires, by the other women and girls of her sub-clan. Since the females outnumber the males there are always hands to do the comparatively small amount of work that falls to the women. Unmarried girls fish and gather greens and firewood for the kitchen. They also grate and strain coconut for coconut cream. Older women, with

[1] [i.e., the first child's first birthday.—Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

BROWN YOUTHS AND VIRGINS

Memu wai o nggori ka Kula;
Au solia mai loaloa;
Au solia na ndrau ni thevunga:
Memu wai o nggori ka Kula.

This is your broth, Sirs the Circumcised;
I give it from the wilderness;
I give the leaf of the *thevunga:*
This is your broth, Sirs the Circumcised.

Chant used when taking food to youths in isolation after circumcision.

Now comes a difficult period for the boy. From the age of about seven until his initiation between eight and thirteen years, his life is uncomfortable. He is ignored, teased, tormented and overworked. He is called by the degrading, humorous, obscene term *pilo* (pronounced pi'-lo), and a *pilo* he is in the eyes of the whole community.

A *pilo* is neither child nor man. He is no longer allowed to play in mixed gangs, and yet he is still excluded from all the interesting masculine activities of his father and older brothers —the preparation of food for the earth oven, sailing, house and canoe building, adult games, and love affairs. His growing masculinity brings about bars that separate him from girls of all ages. Women are inaccessible to him for they bestow their favors upon the initiated. The idea of an affair with a *pilo* is quite ridiculous to them. Yet he is not a man, and he is definitely separated from circumcised youths and older men. He is thwarted and he suffers from feelings of inferiority, becomes self conscious, awkward, silent, and retiring. His plight is highly amusing to the community, especially to the young women and swaggering initiated youths who amuse themselves by ridiculing and spurning him. The only emotional outlet for boys of this age is in masturbation or homosexual relationships with other *pilos*. Such relationships are absent among men, according to both male and female informants.

But a *pilo* is useful. He is no longer a liability to the community, but has become its youngest asset. Chores he learned

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Sunday is lovers' night on Kambara. Trysts are frequently arranged secretly during the morning church services by means of covert signals across the aisle which separates the men from the women. Moonlight, which is very brilliant in Lau, is naturally disliked by lovers. Occasionally late in the evening my house would suddenly become crowded with young people. It took me some time to discover that this influx of guests corresponded to the rising of the moon.

There is a popular tale for children about the moon. In olden times the people of Ngau, an island in the Koro sea, did not want the moon so they decided to kill it. Some old men went with clubs to wait for the moon at the top of a hill. One of them had a bald head, and when the moon shone on his head they mistook it for the moon and clubbed the man instead of the moon!

Lovers have secret methods of communication. If the beloved is indoors at night, the lover will pass near the house and cough, laugh, break a branch, or talk as if someone were with him. Or he may enter her house when all is dark and make a noise like a rat. A man or a girl occasionally has a go-between (called *muaoli*), who may be of either sex. He is chosen for his loyalty, but receives a small gift so that he will not tattle.

If a man is attracted to a girl he will secretly ask her to take a walk (called *ngande*, a term which when used in this sense means to take a walk in order to have sexual intercourse). If he is repeatedly repulsed he occasionally resorts to a socially condemned practise called *ndarandara.* He enters the house of his beloved at night and attempts to secure her favors by stealth. One night Sekala, a bachelor from Lomatchi who was so unattractive that no girl would accept him as a lover, entered a house in Tokalau where several girls were sleeping. He lay down beside one who had repulsed him, and she cried loudly: *"Ndarandara, ndarandara!"* Sekala jumped up and called the name of a boy who he thought slept in the same

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

836 839 house, because he hoped that people would believe he had come to find the boy. He ran out of the house and escaped, but not before he had been recognized. The next day the story had spread all over the island and Sekala was the butt of much ridicule.

832 If a girl wants a man, according to one informant, she talks nicely to him, says a tabu word in fun, and asks him for tobacco. Then she can see whether or not he likes her. If the man does not care for the girl and she desires him, she tries to arouse him by making lascivious movements or by approaching him when he is asleep.

836 833 Lovers usually have intercourse at night under the palm trees fringing the beach or in an empty house in the village. If a house is already occupied they try to find another place, perhaps the shadow of a canoe. Occasionally they meet during the day in the bush. Married people have connection in the sleeping house or in the bush.

539 GETTING MARRIED IN LAU

Mbasu na waka me tou nggunuva,
Livi na kena wai mbulambula,
Wai sevu ma kere savuya,
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.

Break the kava root and let us drink here,
The water poured in is quite clear,
I can hear the sound of it again
Like the falling of the gentle rain.

Kava chant from Namuka.

584 FREQUENTLY a boy is betrothed at an early age to his cross cousin, the preferred mate in Lau. Child betrothal is not so common in Lau today as it was formerly, for there is a growing tendency for young people to choose their mates themselves. Child betrothal is arranged by the boy's father any time before the child reaches the age of seven or eight, when he is informed of the arrangement.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER III

POLITICS AND POLICEMEN

539 GREAT BRITAIN TAKES COMMAND

Na vatu manawa, na vua i rama,
Yau talatala, vakaselotaki mana wangga,
Tambu wangga ko ira na kai Mathuata
Laki kele sara i matamatana.

Floating stones, the fruits of light,
Wonderful canoes welcomed by the murmuring breeze,
Chiefly canoes of the people of Mathuata
About to anchor at the mouth of the passage.

Ancient club dance, Fiji.

614 WE HAVE THUS SEEN how every Lauan child is born into his father's clan. It is as a member of his clan rather than an individual that he goes through life. Under the Lauan social system the patrilineal clan is the basic social unit. Each clan is controlled by a clan headman and is composed of two or three sub-clans. Each sub-clan consists of several households, usually made up of a man, his wife, his children and near relatives such as his parents.[17]

614 621 178 Before the introduction of Christianity each clan formed a hamlet, located in the bush or the garden land, and protected by a hill fortress. One of the most far-reaching effects of the introduction of Christianity was the elimination of warfare in the group. As soon as protection against enemy raids was no longer necessary, most of the hamlets moved down to the coast and consolidated into more convenient coast villages. Later, under colonial regulation village residence was made compulsory and hamlet dwellers were heavily fined. In re-

[17] For details concerning the social organization of Lau, see L. Thompson, "Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography," op. cit.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

native officials not only for ability but also for rank, in order to prevent this shift from taking place too rapidly. The success, therefore, of the system of indirect rule in Fiji lies mainly in the wise selection of native government officials.

GOSSIP HOLDS THE WHIP

Tukutuku e rongo malua
Rongo ki Viwa thatha vakambuka.

Only whisper a thing in Viwa
And it resounds like a roaring fire.
Fijian proverb.[22]

Social life on Kambara is still regulated by an elaborate code of etiquette based on rank. We have seen that this code is learned by children while they are very young and is strictly observed even today from about the age of seven years throughout life. The social sanction behind the code is public opinion. Being "talked about" is the one thing a native cannot stand. If he is ostracized even for a short time by the group he is so overwhelmed with shame that he cannot function.

I witnessed this force at work in Tokalau. One morning our native boy, Ravu, could not work, and he sat morosely with his head in his hands. Finally he told me his trouble. In courting a young widow in the village, Ravu, who was a handsome and charming youth, had incurred the displeasure of Malakai, who had warned him several times to leave the girl alone since she was to marry one of Malakai's relatives on Komo. Ravu had not heeded the warning. The night before Malakai had threatened to incite the young men of the village, who were always jealous of a competitor, to attack Ravu in a gang and whip him with stinging stripped coconut leaves. The affair was being talked about in the village and Ravu had lost face. He was so ashamed and frightened that he could not even eat until peace had been established with Malakai and he was accepted again by the community.

[22] A. B. Brewster, *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 259.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

423 471 council would break the land deadlock in Fiji. Whether or not the measure would benefit the natives themselves would depend upon how wisely it was administered.

539 ● FOOD IS THE DAILY PROBLEM

Era vei talanoa, era nggoro
Wangga ni Mburotu ri ka sa na songgo
Uru tiko nai ndreke i na koro.
Nai mboi ni yasi kula, yasi ndromo,
Nai mboi ni mamba tu na mothelolo,
Nai mboi ni makita thuruoso
Ka laki mbotea na loma ni koro.

They were very much surprised
When we arrived in the Mburotu canoe
And anchored near the village.
The scent of red sandalwood, golden sandalwood,
The scent of *mamba* with *mothelolo*,
The scent of *makita*[34] creeps into the village
And fills it with fragrance.

From an ancient dance, Kambara.

773 261 The Kambarans have a legend of Mburotu, the golden paradise isle of the departed, inhabited by extremely beautiful maidens with light skins like the Tongans. Mburotu is covered with fragrant plants and fruit trees on which the eternally ripe fruit hangs in golden clusters waiting to be picked. As soon as one fruit is picked another appears in its place. But Mburotu is only a wish fulfillment dream in striking contrast to the harsh reality of the everyday world. Food is still the immediate and daily recurring problem on the limestone islands (including Kambara) where garden land is scarce and natural resources limited. This is rendered more acute on account of the porous nature of the soil and lack of fresh water, which makes drought a frequent menace, and on account of devastating hurricanes which cause great destruction of crops and property.

[34] *Mamba*, *mothelolo*, and *makita* are sweet smelling plants.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

son lived in the house of his wife's cross cousin and family of ten. Malakai not only sheltered but also fed Wai's family. Wai neither fished nor cultivated the land he was allowed to use, but roamed about the bush satisfying his hunger with fruits, nuts, and wood grubs, and by soliciting or filching from the gardens of his wife's relatives. Once we watched him hunting edible wood grubs which live in rotted tree trunks. The saliva ran from his mouth when he discovered a nest of them, and in a very short time he had consumed all forty-six grubs. Often when we had planned a day's trip to another village Wai would miraculously appear out of the bush to beg a canoe ride, which could not be refused without losing face, and partake of the feast of welcome prepared by our hosts. In spite of his frequent thefts and general shiftlessness Wai managed to keep out of court by the ingenious method of disappearing from the islands just before the native provincial circuit court was scheduled to arrive, and returning to continue his parasitic existence after it had left. Wai is an example of a man who exploited the institution of soliciting. His was the lowest standard of living on Kambara and he held the lowest social status.

WHITE MAN'S GOLD

Votavota ko lewa, mata tha,
Ndigitaka ka levu, ka visa.

Your evil eye esteems your share too small,
And prompts you greedily to aim at all.

Fijian proverb.[35]

BEFORE mission teachings had gained a foothold on Kambara, the introduction of the sweet potato from Tonga, and later of the South American tapioca from Vanua Vatu in Lau, according to informants, began to revolutionize the economic

[35] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

539 OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

Endua nomu wangga levu,
Endua nomu vusi levu.

If you have a great canoe
Great will be your labor too.[42]

000 Aside from the copra industry there is little likelihood that the islands of southern Lau will become important commercially. Hence sound economic development must lie along the lines of native economy: namely gardening, craftsmanship, and native trade.

431 554 As we have seen, the life of the native Lauan economic system lies in ceremonial gift exchange. Moreover, the *solevu* and kindred types of native exchange are the most significant channels through which the fundamental Lauan drive for prestige, formerly expressed in warfare, now may find an outlet. Any serious attempt to infuse new life into the culture must recognize the vital need of the Lauan for such expression. Stimulation of native exchange would infuse new life not only into the native economic system but also into the culture as a whole.

431 554 178 Economic policies in Fiji, however, tend to discourage ceremonial exchange. Large ceremonial exchanges and the native soliciting system have been suppressed, and the tribute demands a chief may make have been limited. Also the economic burdens of a clan have been lightened, especially during the traditional ceremonies. For instance, the time when the father of a new-born child is obliged to feed the group of female relatives who attend the mother, and when the relatives of the deceased are obliged to feed the group of mourners, has been restricted from ten to four days. Doubtless there was formerly a great deal of waste and abuse connected with the ceremonial exchange of property in Fiji, which these recent changes have tended to correct, but at the same time the corrections have been carried so far that the whole economic

[42] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER V

HOW A FIJIAN SEES THE WORLD

WHERE GHOSTS HOLD SWAY

Mana! E....ntchina! A....munduo....A..munduo!

Mana, may it be true, may it be effective!

End of a Lauan prayer.

539

THE LAUANS still live in a world of magic peopled by ghosts, spirits, and the disembodied souls of the living, for the Christian cosmogony, introduced by the missionaries, had a place for local gods. Even today these superhuman beings are just as real as human beings, and play as important a rôle in their lives. They appear at any time of day or night, frequently in human form, but also in plants, fish, or birds. Some are friendly and aid them in their struggle for success in life, but many are hostile and greatly feared.

776

The Lauans believe that each individual has two souls, one good and one bad. The bad soul occasionally separates itself from the body of a person (who remains unaware of its absence) and wanders about playing tricks on unsuspecting human victims. Such a bad soul appears in the physical form of the person to whom it belongs, so that the victim mistakes the bad soul for its owner. The bad soul then lures him into danger, and at times death, and can be discovered only by its ability to vanish into air.

774

One afternoon our native boy, Ravu, went into the jungle to shoot wild pigeons for the evening meal. Although wild fowl are plentiful on Kambara, they are difficult to shoot because they perch in the high tree tops where the fruit grows. Moreover, the floor of the limestone basin is full of pits and so rough that it cuts even the natives' tough feet, calloused as they are

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

may kill, harm, or eat it. The appearance of the red shark is still considered a good omen, and it is propitiated frequently from canoes or on the beach with offerings of food, kava or wreaths. It was also tabu for commoners of Kambara to kill or eat the red rooster.

Members of the upper class formerly believed that all the inhabitants of the Lau islands journeyed after death to a jumping-off place called Nai Thimbathimba (pronounced Nai Thim'-ba-thim'-ba) on the west or northwest side of each island, and from there sailed by canoe to Nai Thombothombo (pronounced Nai Thom'-bo-thom'-bo) at the extreme western end of Vanua Levu. The commoners, on the other hand, believed in a local abode of the dead.

This was the native outlook on life at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the first Christian missionaries to Fiji landed at Lakemba.

THE CANNIBALS ARE CONVERTED

Endua na kunea maivei na mbula?
Sa na kunei mai Mburotu Kula

Where shall we find the life?
It is to be found in the Red Paradise.

From the teachings of Navosavakandua[49]

The Christian gospel, based on the importance of the spiritual life of the individual, on monotheism, and on brotherly love, presented a striking contrast to the more worldly native outlook on life which the missionaries encountered in Fiji. Christian ideals such as peace, the sanctity of human life, and monogamy were equally foreign to the Fijian before contact with the west. The missionaries introduced the idea of heaven and hell with the word "devil" (*tevoro*) into native ideology. They reduced the native hierarchy of ancestor gods to a hierarchy of devils ruled by the all powerful Christian

[48] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., p. 251.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER VI

SORCERY AND SCIENCE

539 THE WITCH DOCTOR AT WORK

Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,
Ka ulia na sivaro,
Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka
Iri mbula, ra mbula,
Iri mate, ra mate,
Iri vakasanggalenggalo—
A iri mbula, ra mbula,
A iri mate, ra mate.

Oh, Sir Rat,
Stir the pudding,
Sir Pig is down.
Fan of life, Sir Life,
Fan of death, Sir Death.
The sinking fan—
Oh, fan of life, Sir Life,
Oh, fan of death, Sir Death.

Ancient spear dance from Kambara.

759 ON THE ISLAND of Kambara, situated fifty miles by sailing canoe from the nearest native medical practitioner at Lakemba, and 200 miles from the nearest European doctor and hospital at Levuka, the natives are still dependent upon their own methods for treating the sick.

753 759 The Kambarans believe that illness and death have various superhuman causes such as the possession of the body by an evil spirit, the loss of the "good soul", black magic, the infraction of a tabu, or the smell of a dead body. Every doctor, male or female, is a specialist in one or more of these types of illness and uses his own secret medicines which he has acquired by inheritance from a relative, by a dream from an ancestor, or by a guardian spirit through the "Water Baby" cult. A doctor holds an important position in the community, and medicine is used by many as a means of increasing social prestige.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

753 rooted in the Lauan fundamental psychological set, for on matters dealing with the vital forces of the clan—life, sickness and death—the natives are naturally very slow to change. Hence the introduction of modern hygiene and medicinal measures is bound to be a painstaking and difficult process.

539 BIRTHS EXCEED DEATHS

Oi lei nonggou turanga ko sa mbui ti au!
Sa lako e na sala ka senga ni lesu tale mai!

Alas, my chief, alas!
He has gone along the path and will never return!

Death chant for the chief of Fulanga.

164 BEFORE the coming of the white man the Fiji islands, like 731 other South Sea groups, had a limited variety of disease germs. Yaws, ankylostomiasis, leprosy, and elephantiasis were present, probably also tuberculosis. It is doubtful whether or not there was dysentery. Malaria, venereal disease, and infectious fevers such as measles, influenza, and whooping cough were absent. As in other parts of the Pacific new varieties of disease germs, brought by the white man, were fatal to the natives who had no resistance or immunity against them. The most disastrous epidemic recorded in Fiji was that of measles in 1875, one year after annexation of the islands by Great Britain. It is estimated that this epidemic wiped out one-third of the entire population of Fiji, and aged Lauans who survived it still tell how they helped to bury the dead of their villages. The people of Muanaithake, Fulanga, say that a row of skeletons on the beach some distance southeast of the village bears witness to this great tragedy, during which the living could not find time to bury the dead.

161 In 1881 the native population had fallen to 114,748, in 1891 164 to 105,800, and in 1905 to a low point just under 87,000, mainly 731 because of dysentery, whooping cough and a second epidemic of measles. For the next six years the population remained

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

000 neither ruthlessly to break down the one nor hastily to force the other. By emphasizing the individual rather than the clan, it would gradually free the individual from his kinship or clan unit and emphasize his part as an individual in the territorial unit—the village, the district, the colony, and the nation. By increasing his social responsibilities to larger groups it would expand his social horizon and gradually resolve the conflict between the old and the new social order. Hence such an educational system would help to solve the most vital problem in native administration, namely the preservation and stimulation of that zest for life, that will to power, necessary to psychical and physical health.

539 THE NEW ADJUSTMENT

Me loma vinaka na kalou
A lutu manda na tokalau.

Let the gods be of a gracious mind
And send a wind from the east.[77]

178 I HAVE ATTEMPTED to describe the changes that have been taking
182 place in the native culture of Kambara since the introduction of western civilization. We have seen that in spite of contact with western civilization a great deal of the old native culture is still very much alive. The fundamental cultural drives, although finding new outlets, persist as strongly as they did in the past. This is due mainly to several factors. As a result of the land policy of the colonial government, the link between the native culture and the natural environment, here as in other parts of Fiji, has not been broken, and the natives have been able to retain not only their old basic type of subsistence but also their economic independence and contact with old sacred places, animals, and plants. This is significant, for when a culture retains its physical setting it may achieve a new balance more easily in spite of its changing content. Moreover,

[77] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 144.

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

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THE CULTURE HISTORY OF THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI[1]

By LAURA THOMPSON

THE Lau Islands form the eastern border of Fiji. Lakemba in the center of the Lau group was formerly an independent chiefdom, holding all the central and southern islands in tributary relationship. The southern islands, partly of volcanic formation,[2] partly of coral limestone,[3] comprised the chiefdom's rich hinterland. Most of them lack garden land but they produce raw materials used in making important articles of exchange. Outstanding are the hardwoods[4] used for large sailing canoes. Southern Lau supplied all Fiji and also Tonga with these vessels. The type of paper mulberry[5] used for the best barkcloth and pandanus[6] used for the finest mats are also found here, and coconut of excellent quality for oil grows on all the southern islands. Based on these resources, specialized crafts have developed on the islands, which produce the finest canoes, barkcloth, and mats in Fiji. These commodities were traded with Tonga and also collected regularly as tribute to the high chief of Lakemba, who distributed part of them to other chiefdoms in Fiji through a system of gift exchange.

Although of great importance in native economy, the southern islands have offered little to attract the white man on account of their lack of fertile soil

[1] The following study is a translation of a lecture delivered to the Ethnological Colloquium of the University of Berlin in March, 1937. In its original form this has appeared in Archiv für Anthropologie, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1937. It is part of the results of nine months field work in Fiji under a Yale University-Bishop Museum fellowship. A description of the ethnographic results of the field trip are being published as a Bishop Museum bulletin. The spelling of native words follows David Hazelwood, *A Feejeean and English Dictionary* (Vewa, Fiji, 1850). Place names follow British Admiralty charts.

I express sincere appreciation to Bernhard J. Tüting for assistance in the field and particularly for his work on the native religion.

[2] Mothe and Komo Islands.

[3] Kambara (which has a volcanic outcrop), Namuka, Oneate, Fulanga, and Ongea Islands. (Also Ono and Vatoa, the southernmost islands, which are not included in this study.)

[4] Especially vesi, called greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga* [Colebr.] Ktze.), also mbau (probably *Pittorporum* Brackenridge).

[5] Masi, masi ntchina, and ndrauthoka, forms of the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera* Vent.). The paper mulberry is found on every island but the best quality grows only on Namuka.

[6] On Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava.

[Lau 1-151 not processed]

10: St. Johnston QQ6 Lau QQ6

539

/For the texts of various stories told in this source, see category 116, pp. 31-46, 48-54, 70-77, 80-94, 108-122, 125-127 and 129-131./

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

astonishment, and many others, all of pre-missionary times.[1]

Now, throughout all the following stories there will be seen running a strong thread of clinging belief by the people that "their fathers came from other distant lands." In the first one, "The Haunted Isle of the South Seas," we have the legend that the race came from some islands to the south-east, which seems a very likely thing for the people of southern Lau. In the next one, "South Sea Magic," the *vakadraudrau* witch-craft of northern Lau shows a Papuan ancestry of the men of that part, whereas the "Yalovaki" ordeal is a custom introduced from Samoa. In the "South Sea Symposium" the legends all distinctly show an origin from the south-east, whereas in the story of the "Shark God" the Papuan element again creeps in. Fiji is the meeting-place of two quite distinct types of Pacific islanders. On the eastern portion of it, including Lau, there is a very strong strain of the wavy-haired, tall, handsome, light-coloured "Polynesians"; while on the western portion a marked preponderance of the frizzy-haired, short, dark, negroid "Papuans" is found. The path of the latter is fairly obvious for a certain distance back, as the island groups, New Guinea, Solomons, New Hebrides, are all fairly close to

[1] It has even been suggested that the Malayo-Polynesian races are the "Lost Tribes."